The Mutiny on the Bounty

Cover design by McRay Magleby

MUTINY ON THE *BOUNTY*

AN EXHIBITION COMMEMORATING
THE TWO-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE MUTINY

BOOKS SELECTED, INTRODUCED, AND DESCRIBED
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FRIENDS OF THE BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY NEWSLETTER

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Bounty Chronology: A Voyage into History

December 23, 1787

The HMS *Bounty* sets sail from Spithead, England, to transport breadfruit plants from Tahiti to the West Indies.

April 28, 1789

Fletcher Christian and mutineers break into the arms chest and seize the *Bounty*. Lieutenant William Bligh and 18 loyal crew members are set adrift in a 23-foot open boat.

April–June, 1789

Over 45 days, Bligh successfully navigates 3,618 miles to the Dutch settlement of Timor.

January, 1790

After searching nine months for a hideaway, Christian and the mutineers, accompanied by several Tahitian men and women, land at Pitcairn Island.

August, 1790–June, 1792

The HMS *Pandora* is dispatched from London to apprehend the mutineers and return them to justice in England. Fourteen *Bounty* crewmen are captured in Tahiti. The *Pandora* wrecks off the Great Barrier Reef in August, 1791. Ten *Bounty* men eventually reach London.

September–October, 1792

The court-martial of the *Bounty* men begins in London on September 12, 1792, and lasts six days. Four seamen are acquitted, two are granted mercy, and one is pardoned. Three are hanged in Portsmouth Harbor on October 29, 1792.

February, 1808

The American ship *Topaz* lands at Pitcairn and finds John Adams (alias Alexander Smith), the only surviving mutineer, and the rest of the Pitcairn community. News of the *Topaz*'s discovery is not widely circulated.

September, 1814

Two British frigates, HMS *Briton* and *Tagus*, stop at Pitcairn. Accounts by Captains Staines and Pipon receive worldwide attention. After 25 years the mystery of the missing *Bounty* mutineers is solved.

Engraved portrait of William Bligh.
Frontispiece from *A Voyage to the South Sea* (Item 3).

Introduction

> *Whereas the King, upon a representation from the merchants and planters interested in His Majesty's West India possessions that the introduction of the bread-fruit tree into the islands of those seas, to constitute an article of food, would be of very essential benefit to the inhabitants, hath, in order to promote the interests of so respectable a body of his subjects (especially in an instance which promises general advantage) thought fit that measures should be taken for the procuring some of those trees, and conveying them to the said West India islands . . .*[1]

So began the Admiralty's orders to Lieutenant William Bligh, dated November 20, 1787, which led him and the HMS *Bounty* into one of the most famous voyages of all time. How strange that such an innocent intent, that of introducing breadfruit into Britain's West Indian colonies, should lead to such great suffering for those who undertook the journey. The Mutiny on the *Bounty* is one of the most widely known and romanticized naval stories. The images of William Bligh as a sadistic bully driving a terrorized crew to mutiny by floggings and deprivations, and of a heroic and altruistic Fletcher Christian are largely myths. However, after two hundred years of entertaining millions of people with countless books and numerous films and other documentaries, the mutiny is firmly entrenched in the popular imagination.

The Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University commemorates the two-hundredth anniversary of this famous event by exhibiting a selection of *Bounty*-related materials from its extensive Pacific voyages and literature collections. Publications dealing with the mutiny and its aftermath would form a sizeable library. The items selected for display range in publication date from 1773 to 1988. In addition to an impressive number of firsthand accounts, the exhibit also highlights important fine press editions, facsimile, and other editions which attest to the public's continuing interest and intrigue with the *Bounty* mutiny.

The Harold B. Lee Library has an extensive collection of early Pacific voyages. It may seem unlikely that Brigham Young University, located 750 miles inland, would be a candidate for a Pacific collection.

However, the University and its sponsoring institution, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, have had a longtime commitment, involvement, and interest in the peoples of the Pacific Islands. Mormon missionaries first arrived in Tahiti, then known as the Society Islands, in 1844. This was the third foreign LDS mission, following only Canada and Great Britain, and as such was one of the earliest Christian missionary forces to arrive in the Islands. Although the LDS Tahitian effort yielded early success, it was abandoned in 1852.

A more lasting LDS stronghold was realized in Hawaii. The mission was established in 1850, and by 1910 an estimated 9,000 Hawaiians, representing about one-fourth of the native population, were baptized members of the LDS church. Mormon church involvement in the Pacific extends nearly 150 years, with continued growth today. The Kingdom of Tonga, for example, currently has the highest number of Mormons per capita of any nation. Descendants of the early converts make up a noteworthy minority of students who currently attend Brigham Young University, a relationship affectionately termed the *Pacific Pipeline.*

The *Bounty* adventure, like every great story, is a fertile field for legends, myths, and serious scholarship. An estimated 3,000 books and articles have been written about it. Rolf du Rietz's works, along with H. E. Maude's brilliant investigation[2] that traced the *Bounty*'s post-mutiny course, are examples of contemporary twentieth-century scholarly research on the subject. Even so, and sometimes because of the enormous amount of *Bounty* materials, many of the story's main events and motives remain obscure and open to conjecture. Over the past two centuries and particularly in our time, the personalities of William Bligh and Fletcher Christian have suffered excruciating and unrelenting analysis.

Captain Bligh

William Bligh was born at St. Tudy, near Plymouth, on September 9, 1754. His father, Francis Bligh, worked as a customs officer in Plymouth. His mother, Jane Pearce Bligh, died in 1768, when William was 14 years old. Francis Bligh prepared his son for a career in the King's Navy by ensuring him a sound education. By the age of 15

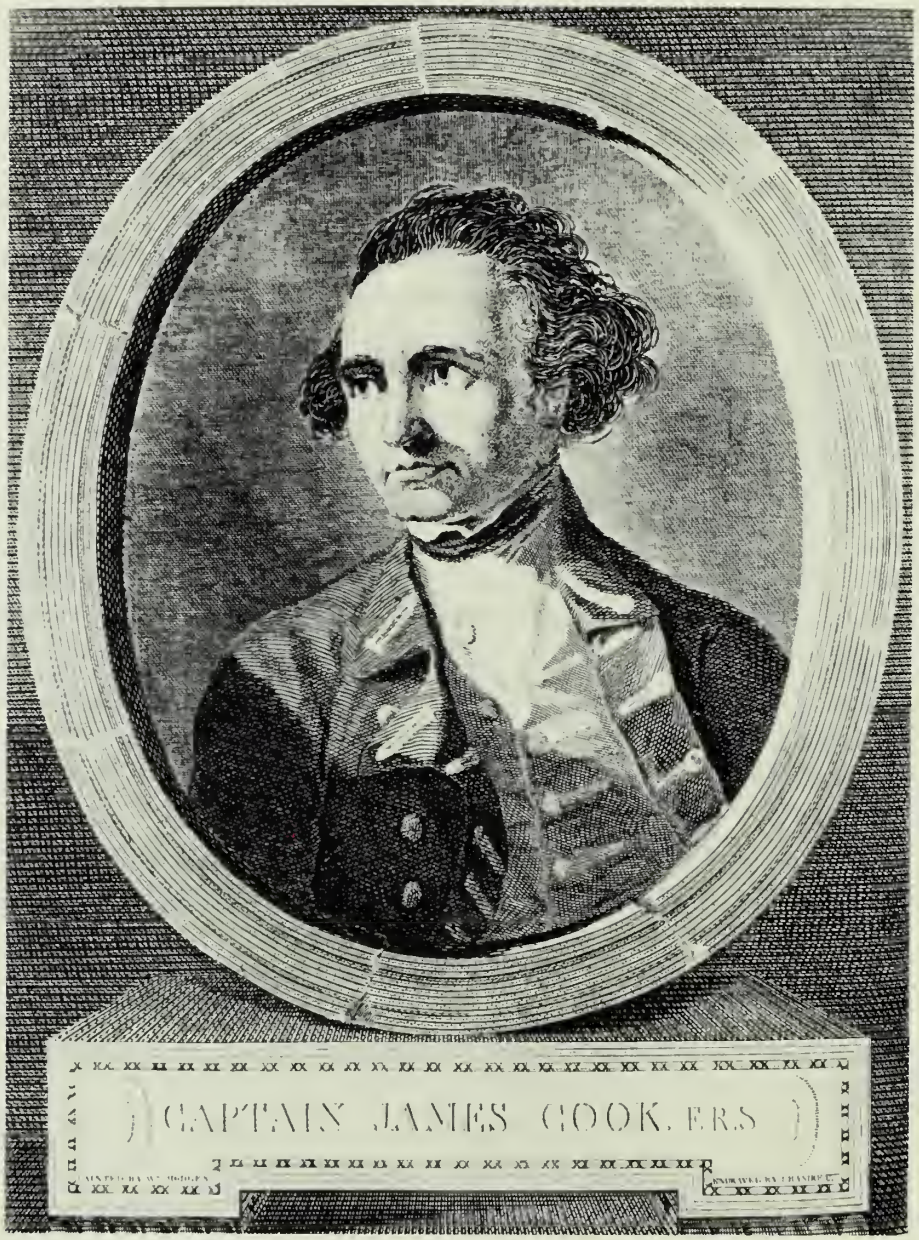
Bligh was not only well versed in science and mathematics but had also developed fine talents as a writer and an illustrator.

Bligh entered the Navy as a master's mate at the age of 16. Although he avoided the worst of the rough work and discipline, life at sea was hard and uncompromising, and it did much to shape future attitudes. It was common practice at this time to enlist a boy in the Navy in order to increase his chances of becoming an officer and a gentleman. The Royal Navy had only two requirements for becoming an officer: first, that a man serve at least six years in the Navy; and second, that he be at least 20 years old. The social status of one's family was also important, although not always requisite.

For some years the young Bligh served on small vessels and developed his skills in navigation and cartography. Hard work brought reward, for in 1775 he was certified by the Admiralty as a midshipman. These skills, along with the influence of his lifelong friend Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820), led to his appointment in 1776 as the sailing master of the HMS *Resolution*, the flagship of Captain James Cook's (1728–1779) third and final voyage (see item #30). Banks, the famous English botanist and later president of the Royal Society, had accompanied Cook as a naturalist on his first voyage of discovery (1768–1771).

Bligh served Cook with loyalty and skill. His navigational and artistic talents were used to great advantage in charting unknown waters. The charting of Adventure Bay off Tasmania, for example, is credited to Bligh, and all of the charts made after Cook's death were taken from Bligh's originals. Bligh owed much to Cook for teaching him skills that enabled him to serve in the Royal Navy for the remainder of his life.

Captain Cook was an unusual man. Not only did he accomplish remarkable feats of navigation and discovery, but he also broke with tradition in his treatment of crews. He was one of the first commanders to treat his men in a reasonable fashion. Although he drove them and himself hard, he always ensured that they were well fed and that their living quarters were clean. But there was an uglier side to Cook, manifested in a vile temper, abusive language, and a penchant for terrible floggings. Bligh learned much from Cook's darker side, too.



James Cook joined the Royal Navy from the merchant service and soon gained promotion because of his exceptional talents in nautical surveying and exploration. He led three major voyages to the Pacific. On the third voyage he chose William Bligh, then age 22, as master of the *Resolution*, in recognition of Bligh's own potential as a navigator and hydrographer. From Cook's *A Voyage toward the South Pole* (1777).

Bligh, who figures prominently in the last half of Cook's journal, actively participated in every stage of the journey both before and after Cook's untimely death. Cook was killed by natives at Kealakekua Bay on the Big Island of Hawaii in February, 1779. Later during this ill-fated voyage, Captain Charles Clerke, the captain of the HMS *Discovery*, a companion ship, also died. This left practically all of the navigation, especially during the return voyage to England, in Bligh's hands.

When the expedition returned to England in 1780, Bligh refused to join the other officers in what he thought was a cover-up about the circumstances of Cook's death. He was also bitter because the charts that he had made were attributed to others. Voicing such criticisms in public proved a costly mistake, for Bligh was the only officer excluded from promotion upon the expedition's return. An experienced, travelled, confident, but snubbed Bligh made his way to the Isle of Man. There he met three families who would become very much a part of his life: the Bethams, the Christians, and the Heywoods.

Bligh married Elizabeth Betham in February, 1781. Of Scottish heritage, Elizabeth is characterized as the ideal naval wife. She was loyal, domestic, and fruitful. They became the parents of six daughters. Ten days after their marriage, Bligh was appointed master of the *Belle Poule*, a captured French ship which Bligh took to the Battle of Dogger Bank in August. There he was finally promoted to lieutenant.

His good fortune was short lived. In 1782, following the loss of Britain's New World Colonies, the Royal Navy was forced to cut many officers to half pay. Bligh was among these and so began to search for other employment. Through his wife's uncle, Duncan Campbell, Bligh found a position in the merchant service commanding several ships in the West Indies trade. One of these ships, the *Britannia*, brought together Bligh and Fletcher Christian, a well-educated and aspiring young sailor, for the first time.

Fletcher Christian

Fletcher Christian, also from the Isle of Man, sailed under Bligh on two West Indian voyages. On the first *Britannia* journey, Christian served as an ordinary seaman, but he associated and ate with the midshipmen

and officers. He was promoted to second mate on the second voyage. Fletcher Christian was an eager pupil, and Bligh spent much time furthering his knowledge of navigation and the use of charts and instruments. Bligh and Christian were good friends at the conclusion of the *Britannia* voyages.

Christian was born on September 25, 1764, in Moorland Close on the Isle of Man. He was the seventh child of an important family of landowners and was educated at the Free Grammar School in Cockermouth. William Wordsworth attended school here too. Christian continued his education at the highly respected St. Bees School, close to Whitehaven. During his time at St. Bees the Christian family estate suffered bankruptcy. Fletcher's older brothers had borrowed heavily for educational and personal pursuits. Charles Christian, Fletcher's father and a respected attorney, had died in 1768.

Fletcher was faced with an uncertain future, for the Christians lost not only wealth but social status. It is likely that Fletcher remained in school until the age of 18. In April, 1783, he joined the Navy as a midshipman aboard the HMS *Eurydice.*

The *Eurydice* sailed for the West Indies in October, 1783. During the intervening six months in port at Spithead, Fletcher Christian was exposed to the brutalities associated with naval life. The ship sailed for India via Madeira and Cape Town, and arrived in Madras in June, 1784. It also spent time along the Malabar Coast and in Bombay. By June, 1785, they were home. Christian had spent two impressionable years aboard ship and several eye-opening months in the exotic Far East. He had also performed his midshipman duties well and was promoted to acting lieutenant. Discharged because of cuts in naval expenditures, Christian used family connections to gain a favorable position as an officer in the West Indies merchant trade with Captain Bligh.

Breadfruit for the West Indies

Bligh, in the meantime, had built a formidable reputation as a navigator and a sea captain of outstanding ability. Sir Joseph Banks, the influential scientist who had helped place Bligh on Cook's third voyage 10 years earlier, had business interests in the West Indies.

Now president of the Royal Society, Banks was held in high esteem and was an important advisor to King George III. Sir Joseph, backed by a group of English plantation owners called the Standing Committee of West Indian Planters and Merchants, proposed an expedition to transplant breadfruit trees from Tahiti to the West Indies as a cheap source of food for the slave population.

The committee first proposed that a ship that had transported felons to Botany Bay in Australia collect the plants from Tahiti on its return trip. By March, 1787, Banks had changed his mind and thought that an independent vessel, fitted under his direction, would better suit the purpose. The King was enchanted and signed the orders for the voyage on May 15, 1787. The Navy Board was ordered to purchase a ship. They chose a 230-ton, snub-nosed coastal trader built in Hull, only two-and-a-half years old, called the *Bethia.* Within days she was rechristened HMS *Bounty* and sent to Deptford Naval Yard to be fitted as a floating greenhouse.

Bligh and Christian, still aboard the *Britannia,* were ignorant of the preparations and excitement until they arrived in England on August 5, 1787. Banks selected Bligh to captain the *Bounty* and gave him the opportunity to choose the entire crew, with the exception of David Nelson, the botanist, who was chosen by Banks himself. Bligh eagerly accepted Banks' offer, was appointed August 16, and took command of the *Bounty* at Deptford on the twentieth.

The *Bounty* was not the most spacious of ships. Her overall length was 91 feet and her beam or width was just under 25 feet. Much work had to be done to equip the ship for her special task. Most of the space above deck usually reserved for the crew's accommodations was converted to special platform decks outfitted with 629 earthenware pots to hold the plants. The use of deck space for breadfruit meant two things. First, the crew of 45 would sail on a two-year voyage in very cramped conditions (34 men lived with an average space of 30 square feet each). Second, and perhaps more importantly, there was no room for the standard complement of Royal Marines. Bligh would have no armed backup to assure that his orders were carried out and to assist him in difficult times. He felt uneasy at the prospect of being without marines, for he also carried no commissioned officers to share his duties.

Joesph Banks accompanied Cook on his first voyage to the Pacific and recommended Bligh as Master on Cook's third voyage. Banks also urged the Admiralty to appoint Bligh captain of the *Bounty*. The highly influential Banks served as President of the Royal Society for 42 years and was a lifelong friend and supporter of Bligh. From Banks' *Endeavor Journal* (Item 29).

Breadfruit was first discovered by Mendaña de Nayra in 1598. Its potential as food was popularized by William Dampier in 1729 and by Hawkesworth in his 1773 account of Cook's first voyage, from which this engraving is taken (Item 28). The purpose of the *Bounty* expedition was to transport young breadfruit plants to British plantations in the West Indies.

Most surprising to the modern sailor, there was no superstructure of day cabins and galleys on the *Bounty*'s deck. Everything but steering and sail handling went on below the main deck. To make conditions worse, there were no portholes. Fresh air and light came only through three-foot hatches to the ladderways when conditions were suitable.

Delays in outfitting the *Bounty* frustrated everyone. Bligh wanted to make his mark on this ship and attended to every detail. He had the masts and yards shortened and the ballast of iron bars reduced from 45 tons to 19 tons. He was unhappy about the three small rescue boats and exchanged them for larger ones. The biggest replacement, the launch, was 23 feet instead of 20 and thus was able to carry four more men. Bligh took special interest in provisioning the ship, and thanks to Cook's tutelage, he did so with advanced ideas about health and diet. By October all provisions and stores had been purchased, and Bligh was busy finishing the selection of the crew.

The *Bounty*'s crew was chosen on the normal basis of the day—midshipmen, warrant, and petty officers by Bligh's knowledge of them; ratings or common sailors by recommendation and proven ability. The crew was remarkably young, with most under 30. Bligh, only 33, was one of the oldest. Fletcher Christian, who joined the complement as master's mate, was a few days shy of 23. The master, John Fryer, was 34, and the other mate, William Elphinstone, was 38.

Bligh selected most of the men through his and his wife's acquaintances on the Isle of Man. George Stewart, age 21 and well educated, was one of the first able-bodied seaman (AB's) to come aboard. As will be seen, Stewart is blamed by some for suggesting the mutiny to Christian. Peter Heywood, age 15, signed on the same day as George Stewart. The Heywoods and Mrs. Bligh's family, the Bethams, were friends, and young Heywood stayed at the Bligh residence until the *Bounty* sailed. David Nelson, Bligh's friend and the botanist on Cook's third voyage, also joined the crew.

Other men of importance were AB John Adams, who signed on the ship as Alexander Smith because he had recently deserted from another ship; Thomas Hayward, another of Betsy Bligh's family friends, who later secured a small notebook for Bligh to write in while in the launch; and James Morrison, boatswain's mate, whose journal

remarkably survived both the mutiny and the sinking of the *Pandora*, the ship that was later sent to apprehend the mutineers. Of interest was a fiddler named Michael Byrne, who was nearly blind. Bligh wanted a fiddler because he felt that music was a morale booster and that it provided an incentive to dance, a form of much needed exercise for the crew. This was the state of affairs on the *Bounty* as she prepared to sail in the fall of 1787. Bligh and Christian were friends and shared a mutual respect. Neither anticipated a future of fierce arguing and disagreement. What was to happen on their unhappy voyage would become one of the most famous sea stories of all time.

Voyage of the *Bounty*

The *Bounty* sailed from Spithead on December 23, 1787, with orders to round Cape Horn and proceed to Tahiti directly, acquire the breadfruit, and then continue to the West Indies, where they were to deposit the plants and return to England. Bligh requested and received orders permitting him to round the Cape of Good Hope if Cape Horn were insurmountable. The outward voyage to Tahiti, via the Canary Islands, was virtually free of problems. When Bligh arrived at Cape Horn, the sea was so fierce and the weather so disagreeable that the *Bounty* could barely travel a league in a week. After almost a month the Horn was abandoned, *to the great joy of every person on board*, wrote Bligh on April 22, 1788.[3]

At Cape Town, where the *Bounty* spent 38 days being refitted and provisioned, Fletcher Christian allegedly borrowed money from Bligh for entertainment, souvenirs, and private stores of food. This financial obligation was later cited by John Adams as one of the reasons that Christian could no longer sail under Bligh's heavy hand. Although Bligh claimed to have never quarrelled with Christian before the day of the mutiny, perhaps their falling out began at Cape Town. From Cape Town to Tahiti the *Bounty* was isolated in a way that is difficult to imagine today. In the vast southern Indian Ocean she was totally cut off from the outside world. Ahead lay only vaguely known waters and the even greater Pacific Ocean. Bligh's management was greatly tested during this leg of the voyage.

Bligh was a strict captain, given particularly to fits of temper and an abusive tongue, but he was not a *flogging captain*, unlike a fair number of his contemporaries. When assessing Bligh's conduct aboard the *Bounty*, it is necessary to review the conditions of the time in regards to punishments and shipboard life in general. Punishments were extremely severe but regarded as necessary: slack seamanship cost lives and therefore had to be controlled. Flogging was common and, depending on the offense, one could receive from 6 to 500 hundred lashes. *Flogging through the fleet* was the punishment for desertion. The victim was tied to the mast of a ship's boat and the boat was rowed to the gangway for flogging by each ship in the fleet, sometimes as many as 40. It was not surprising that few deserters survived this ordeal. On the *Bounty*'s outward voyage to Tahiti, there were only two instances of flogging.

Hanging from the yardarm was the punishment for mutiny. The deterrent effect this had must have been enormous. Not only was the ship's company required to watch, but the victim's shipmates were forced to pull him to his death. Punishments included *running the gauntlet*, *keel hauling*, *the funnel*, and many others. Swearing was also a punishable offense. Officers were fined a shilling or sixpence; seamen were forced to wear some badge of disgrace, such as a large wooden collar. The cutting of food and rations was also used for various offenses, a most unpopular punishment that Bligh was prone to use.

Life at sea was very busy. The crew was divided into two or three watches, which meant four hours on duty followed by four or eight hours off duty. Bligh favored the three-watch system, which meant that the crew worked four hours in twelve, allowing for longer rest periods. The *Bounty* made good time from Cape Town to Adventure Bay in Tasmania, where they stayed for several weeks. While accounts and causes vary, seeds of discord were sown between Bligh and some of the officers on the final leg of the journey to Tahiti. Increasingly, Bligh found them incompetent and lacking in experience. His bad-tempered rule alienated nearly everyone aboard.

A major conflict came on October 9, 1788, just two weeks before reaching Tahiti. First, seaman James Valentine died. He had complained of a minor ailment, and John Huggan, the surgeon, had bled

him at the arm. The arm became infected and Valentine died. Incensed for not having been told of Valentine's condition earlier, Bligh turned sharply on Huggan and his officers. The next day he ordered the surgeon to stop all liquor consumption, but the demand had little effect. From this point Huggan was constantly drunk and six weeks later, in Tahiti, he died.

A second incident on October 9 was the refusal of John Fryer to sign the books of the carpenter and boatswain. In order for these men to be paid properly, their books required the monthly signatures of Bligh and Fryer, the master. Bligh signed without hesitation, but Fryer, for reasons never fully understood, refused. When Bligh confronted him, Fryer boldly retorted that he would sign only if Bligh first signed a certificate saying that his [Fryer's] behavior had been blameless throughout the voyage, even though it was only half over. Bligh refused such an outrageous request and had the Articles of War read to the ship's company. At the threat of being court-martialed, Fryer signed. He was not, however, further punished. The atmosphere on the *Bounty* was charged with suspicion and discontent. With every day Bligh's authority and dignity suffered further erosion.

Bounty in Tahiti

On Saturday, October 25, 1788, the *Bounty* made the final maneuvers that brought her to the sanctuary of Tahiti's lagoons. As in the thrilling scenes from the *Bounty* movies, Tahitians met the ship with dozens of small craft. Soon there were so many natives aboard that Bligh could hardly find his own men. Life in Tahiti could not have been more of a contrast to shipboard life. Although Bligh remained celibate on these occasions, the crew were left to their own devices. Tahiti, then and now, is rich fodder for legends—a lush tropical paradise far removed from the puritanical reach of eighteenth-century England.

After initial greetings, Bligh spent most of the first week preparing the Tahitians to make a rather large gift of breadfruit shoots to the King of England. He did this through trading smaller goods for various Tahitian commodities. Fletcher Christian was sent with a small party to construct a tent on shore to house the breadfruit nursery

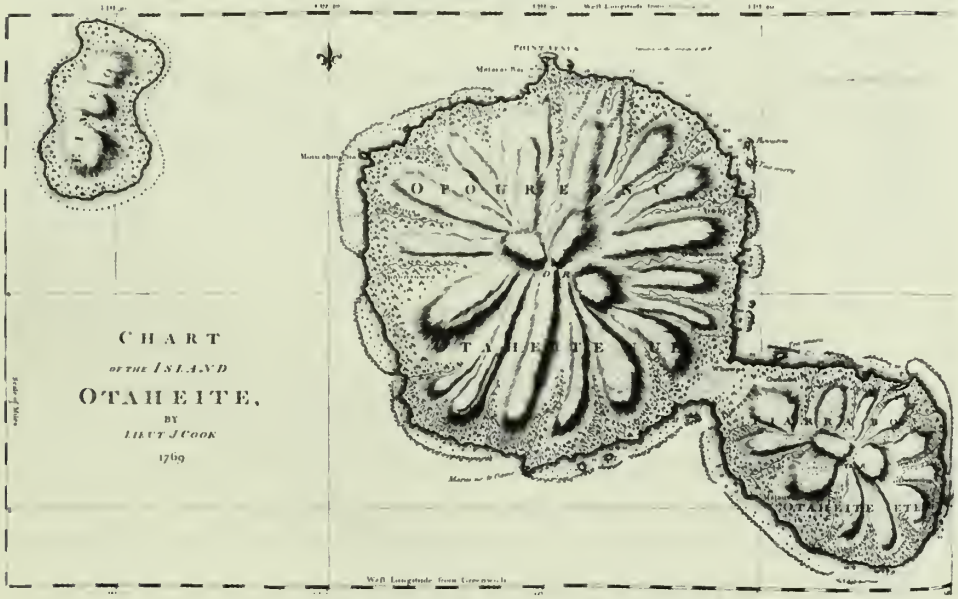
before the voyage was resumed to the West Indies. Soon a deal was struck with the main chiefs of the island and breadfruit began to be gathered.

Bligh's main problems during the six months on Tahiti were that he allowed the crew too much leeway and he stayed too long. The crew became lax in their duties and lapsed into careless and carefree ways in the intoxicating Tahitian atmosphere. The sailors quickly absorbed the idyllic lifestyle. They learned the rudiments of the language and Tahitian customs, including tattooing. Fletcher Christian had such extensive tattooing done that he could have been fully accepted into the native society. Several, again including Christian, formed intimate relations with Tahitian women. As the men became more and more Tahitian in manner and dress, only Bligh and a few others remained aloof. Like the breadfruit, the seeds of mutiny had been planted. Now they were being nurtured.

Bligh should have kept the crew engaged in sailing activities. There were many islands left to explore in the region and he could have used this as an excuse to keep the men fit for duty. Instead, Bligh used the extra time to entertain Tahitian royalty and learn more about the native society. Although his inquiries were valuable, they cost him the respect, order, and discipline of the crew. Collection of the breadfruit took two weeks and repairs took another month. The *Bounty* was capable of sailing after two months, yet she stayed six. Many criticize Bligh for not having left sooner, but Bligh was an experienced captain and he knew that if they sailed during the rainy season, which was upon them, he would have jeopardized the mission. The rainy season brought fierce, unpredictable winds and hurricanes to the South Pacific. Bligh elected to wait out the troublesome weather and sail at a later date.

A violent storm hit Tahiti in December, 1788. The *Bounty*, anchored at Matavai Bay, was tossed like driftwood. Bligh decided to move the ship to a safer harbor. As a result of sailing at low tide, combined with the lack of drilling among the crew, the *Bounty* struck a coral reef. Luckily, due to her copper lining, she avoided severe damage. Bligh blamed John Fryer for the accident, to the resentment of the crew and officers, who believed the captain to be responsible.

Map of the northern section of Tahiti sketched by William Bligh.
From *A Voyage to the South Sea* (Item 3).



Cook's chart of the Island of Tahiti.
Early voyagers heard the islanders call their home *Otaheite*, or *O tahiti*,
and it was known by this name until the middle of the nineteenth century.
From Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages* (Item 28).

The longer they stayed, the more Bligh lost control. In January, three men abandoned ship and took several muskets. Bligh asked the Tahitian chiefs to assist in capturing the fugitives. The runaways were apprehended and placed in irons. Bligh blamed the desertions on his officers, calling them neglectful and worthless. The next day the extra sails stored away for future use were found to have rotted away. Again the officers were harshly criticized.

By the end of February the tropical idyll was ending and Bligh was preparing the ship and breadfruit for the return voyage. Furious rain delayed their departure until March 25. Although the ship, loaded with over one thousand flourishing breadfruit plants, was ready, the men were not. After six months of sampling paradise few of them relished the return to the rigors of the ship's routine. The *Bounty* set sail from Tahiti on April 4, 1789. Heading west, they arrived at Nomuka, on the eastern limits of the Tongan Islands, on April 23. Tensions between Bligh and the crew were near a breaking point. At Nomuka, natives stole a grapnel or anchor from a watering party headed by Christian. Bligh held Christian responsible and insulted him in front of the crew.

The final break between Bligh and Christian occurred on the evening of April 27, off Tofua. As proof of how far relations had deteriorated, while walking the quarter deck, Bligh noticed that what he considered his private reserve of coconuts seemed to have diminished from the day before. Bligh considered their loss an affront to his rank and ordered every coconut on board brought on deck. He then subjected each man to a humiliating cross-examination: *How many coconuts did you buy? How many did you eat?*

His childish rage focused on Christian, whom he called a thief, a scoundrel, and a *damned hound.* As punishment Bligh ordered the officers' grog rations stopped and their allowance of yams reduced. Continuing his pettiness he confiscated some of the officers' coconuts to replace those he thought stolen. And, as a final insult, he threatened each officer with charges of misconduct amounting to lack of promotion or worse at the voyage's end. If the momentum of events were not so dramatic, this extraordinary episode would have been humorous.

Mutiny on the *Bounty*

Tension aboard the *Bounty* had never been worse. Bligh's oppression had each man near his breaking point, and Fletcher Christian had reached his. At first, he rashly decided to jump ship, deserting with dignity intact. George Stewart tried to convince Christian that he should stay and see the voyage through. He told Christian that he had a great deal of support among his fellow officers and that he was needed on the voyage for *the men were ripe for anything.* Stewart's phrase set deeply in the mind of Christian. Christian took the statement to mean that the men would support him in a mutiny. Stewart, who was confined to quarters during the mutiny, later claimed that he was only trying to console Christian. Regardless of Stewart's intention, it is argued that he gave Christian the idea for the mutiny.

Why should he go? Why shouldn't Bligh leave instead? Christian approached several seamen and the plot was hatched. Stewart was right about the crew's having a great deal of empathy for Christian. Mutiny was an idea whose time had come, and the members of Christian's third watch were willing and able. Christian gained access to the arms chest but cautioned the mutineers that the weapons were to be used only as deterrents. In keeping with his plan to rid Bligh from the ship, there would be threats of death but bloodshed was unacceptable. Before dawn on April 28, 1789, the insurrectionists advanced towards Bligh's cabin. They first subdued midshipman Thomas Hayward, then burst into the chamber through the captain's open door. As Bligh relates:

> *Just before sun-rising, while I was yet asleep, Mr. Christian with the master-at-arms, gunner's mate, and Thomas Burkitt, seaman, came into my cabin, and seizing me, tied my hands with a cord behind my back, threatening me with instant death if I spoke or made the least noise.*[4]

Bligh was probably the most stunned man on the *Bounty* when the mutiny erupted. He was astonished that Fletcher Christian could lead a mutiny against him. He never did understand why. Bligh's attitude towards the mutiny was one of righteous indignation. It would remain so for the rest of his life. He assumed a longstanding conspiracy, blamed on the idyllic life in Tahiti, which in probability did not exist.

Bligh, still in his nightshirt, was hustled on deck. Terror struck those who were loyal to Bligh as they were told that they would be

View of Papeete Bay, Tahiti. From Shipley's *Sketches in the Pacific* (Item 21).

set adrift. Tears of fear and anguished pleas for mercy rang through the *Bounty*'s woodwork. Breadfruit seemed so ill a cause to lose one's life over. Christian ordered the small cutter lowered into the water. This was soon replaced by the larger cutter. Upon inquiring who would go with the captain, Christian discovered that the party was too numerous even for the large cutter. He grudgingly ordered the *Bounty*'s launch, the ship's most valuable accessory, to be lowered.

Lowering so many vessels took upwards of three hours. There was ample time to collect belongings, load the boat, and exchange final insults. Without further ceremony, the armed mutineers untied Bligh's hands and forced him over the side. There was some bargaining for possessions, and Christian gave them his own compass. Further food and clothing were thrown in the launch. Twenty-five men—*the most able men of the ship's company*, according to Bligh—remained on the *Bounty*. The launch, deep loaded with 19 men, was cast adrift on the open ocean. Although the mutiny was bloodless, its aftermath was dramatically brutal for everyone involved.

Return to England

Now began Bligh's remarkable ordeal. For the next 45 days he guided the little open boat across uncharted waters to Timor, a Dutch-held island in the East Indies (present-day Indonesia). This was a journey of over 3,600 miles, and Bligh lost only one man, John Norton. Even those who dislike Bligh cannot help but admire his navigation, strength, and resolve.

According to Bligh's detailed and moving account, provisions amounted to 150 pounds of ship's biscuits, 28 gallons of water, 32 pounds of pork, 6 quarts of rum, 6 bottles of wine, some coconuts, and some breadfruit. The boat was only 23 feet long and conditions were so cramped that no one could lie down to rest, not even one at a time. *Our limbs were dreadfully cramped, for we could not stretch them out; and the nights were so cold, and we so constantly wet, that, after a few hours sleep, we could scarce move,*[5] Bligh recorded. Rations were set at one ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water each day. For navigation Bligh had a book of longitudes and latitudes, a sextant, Christian's compass, and his memory of the charts and maps left behind on the *Bounty*.

The stunned men first headed for Tofua, where an unsuccessful attempt was made to secure more provisions. To make matters worse, John Norton, the quartermaster, was stoned to death by angry natives on the beach. Their 45-day open-boat voyage to Timor, the closest Dutch settlement, was one of great heroics. Bligh was severe in allowing only the predetermined rations. The men complained of constant hunger and thirst. Bligh writes that this was the most difficult part of the entire journey, but rationing saved their lives. With few words Bligh summons pictures of the dreadful conditions. On May 21, 1789, for example, he penned:

> *At dawn of day, some of my people seemed half dead: our appearances were horrible; and I could look no way, but I caught the eye of some one in distress. Extreme hunger was now too evident, but no one suffered from thirst, nor had we much inclination to drink, that desire, perhaps, being satisfied through the skin. The little sleep we got was in the midst of water, and we constantly awoke with severe cramps and pains in our bones. This morning I served about two tea-spoonfuls of rum to each person, and the allowance of bread and water, as usual. At noon the sun broke out, and revived every one. All the afternoon, we were so covered with rain and salt water that we could scarcely see. We suffered extreme cold, and every one dreaded the approach of night. Sleep, though we longed for it, afforded no comfort: for my own part, I almost lived without it. About two o'clock in the morning we were overwhelmed with a deluge of rain. It fell so heavy that we were afraid it would fill the boat, and were obliged to bale with all our might. At dawn of day, I served a larger allowance of rum. Towards noon, the rain abated and the sun shone, but we were miserably cold and wet, the sea breaking constantly over us; so that, notwithstanding the heavy rain, we had not been able to add to our stock of fresh water.*[6]

The storm worsened on the next day:

> *Our situation this day was extremely calamitous. We were obliged to take the course of the sea, running right before it, and watching with the utmost care, as the least error in the helm would in a moment have been our destruction. The misery we suffered this night exceeded the preceding. The sea flew over us with great force, and kept us baling with horror and anxiety. At dawn of day I found every one in a most distressed condition, and I began to fear that another such night would put an end to the lives of several, who seemed no longer able to support their sufferings. I served an allowance of two tea-spoonfuls of rum; after drinking which, having wrung our clothes, and taken our breakfast of bread and water, we became a little refreshed.*[7]

After nearly a month on the open sea, Bligh had to cut rations even further, which he described as taking life itself from his haggard companions. The meager supplies were supplemented with whatever they could lay their hands on, as Bligh's entry for May 25 relates:

> *At noon some noddies came so near to us, that one of them was caught by hand. This bird was about the size of a small pigeon. I divided it, with its entrails, into 18 portions, and by a well-known method at sea, of, 'Who shall have this?' it was distributed, with the allowance of bread and water for dinner, and eat up bones and all, with salt water for sauce.*[8]

Four miserable days later, after negotiating the treacherous Great Barrier Reef, they landed on the northeastern tip of Australia. This welcome interlude on land was spent scavenging for food and water. But, by Bligh's reckoning, they were only half-way to Timor. After an additional two weeks on the open sea, the pitiful crew sighted Timor on June 12. Bligh wrote:

> *It is not possible for me to describe the pleasure which the blessing of the sight of this land diffused among us. It appeared scarce credible to ourselves, that in an open boat, and so poorly provided, we should have been able to reach the coast of Timor in forty-one days after leaving Tofoa, having in that time run, by our log, a distance of 3618 miles; and that, notwithstanding our extreme distress, no one should have perished in the voyage.*[9]

Thus ended one of the most incredible voyages of all time. In the magnificent desperation of the open-boat voyage, Bligh proved himself to be a selfless, compassionate, and competent commander. The launch had averaged an astonishing 90 miles per day. At journey's end, Bligh recorded, *Our bodies were nothing but skin and bones, our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed in rags: in this condition with the tears of joy and gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and pity.*[10]

On Timor, Bligh and the men convalesced for two months. A ship was obtained for the journey to Batavia, another 1,800 miles away, where the survivors could arrange passage to England (see item #8). Before they sailed, David Nelson, the botanist, died of a fever. Aboard various ships, 12 of the 19 men turned off the *Bounty* eventually returned to England.

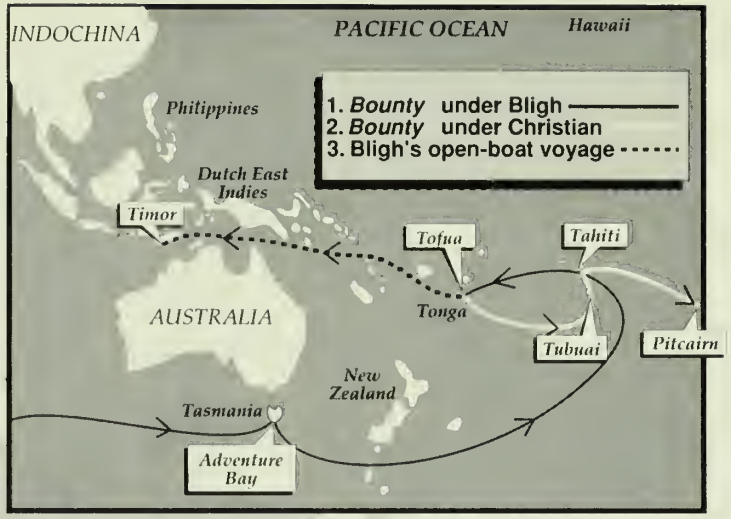
On March 14, 1790, Bligh landed on the Isle of Wight, and days later arrived in London. Interest in the story was enormous and Bligh was an instant hero. In June, Bligh's first book, *A Narrative of the Mutiny on Board His Majesty's Ship Bounty* (item #1), was published by the Admiralty. It was obvious that the Admiralty was cashing in on the best story of the century. Notification was sent to English ships and ports in Asia and the Pacific to capture the *Bounty* if she appeared. Bligh had to face a formal court-martial, obligatory under naval law, which found him blameless for the loss of the *Bounty*.

For a time Bligh's career blossomed. He was promoted to commander and then to post-captain within a matter of weeks. In April, 1791, Banks appointed him to a second breadfruit expedition which was successful, except for the exasperating refusal of West Indian slaves to eat it. When Bligh returned again to England in 1793, he found that public opinion had swayed against him and that it would never swing back.

The *Bounty*'s Return to Tahiti

Meanwhile, the 25 men aboard the *Bounty* reversed course and beat a hasty retreat towards Tahiti. They arrived first at Tubuai, 350 miles south of Tahiti, where a dozen natives were killed during an attack on the ship. Nevertheless, Christian felt strongly that Tubuai was an ideal place to settle. They went on to Tahiti for two weeks to take on provisions and women. Back on Tubuai, they established the first English colony in Polynesia. The mutineers erected a fort but were driven away following three months of almost constant warfare by unfriendly natives. Sixteen of the crew voted to return to Tahiti with 9 against. Christian submitted to the wishes of the majority. Back on Tahiti, 16 crewmen elected to leave the ship, while 8 remained with Christian aboard the *Bounty*. Desperate for a permanent settlement well off the beaten track on an island somewhere in the vast Pacific, Christian set sail again. Accompanying Christian and his 8 companions were 6 Polynesian men, 19 women, and an infant girl: 35 in all.

Map showing 1. The route of the Bounty from England to Tahiti and hence to Tofua, near where the mutiny occurred. 2. The route of the mutineers back to Tahiti, and then to Pitcairn Island. 3. The route of Bligh and those set adrift to Timor.



Pitcairn Island

Christian again turned west, passing through the Cook Islands (Rarotonga), and, after two months, reached Fiji. When hope of finding a hiding place in the Western Pacific faded, they reversed direction and headed east. Christian selected Pitcairn, 2,000 miles to the east. This was a courageous decision, as it meant two more grueling months at sea for the already exhausted settlers. Getting there also meant looping far south into colder climates to find favorable winds. Pitcairn had been discovered by Carteret in 1767. Although he could not land, Carteret, whose account Christian had probably read in Bligh's on-board library, recorded that the island was isolated by unimaginable stretches of water, pounded by violent surf, appeared fertile, had running water, and seemed uninhabited. To Christian, Pitcairn must have sounded perfect.

Pitcairn was sighted by the *Bounty* fugitives on January 15, 1790. True to Carteret's account, a violent swell delayed landing for two days. After landing they found Pitcairn the ideal island on which to settle. The first two weeks were spent salvaging everything possible from the *Bounty*, after which she was beached. Whether by design or by accident, she was shortly thereafter set ablaze. Christian's party must have watched the fire destroy the *Bounty* with feelings of intense finality.

It was not until 1808, some 18 years after their arrival, that the outside world learned of the fate of these *Bounty* mutineers. Accounts differ and events are sketchy, but apparently they settled into an uneasy life on Pitcairn, building houses, farming, and breeding livestock. Turmoil began at an early stage. The island was divided equally between Christian and his eight crewmen, to the exclusion of the six male Tahitians, some of them chiefs, who were given no land. Disputes also arose over the women. No one really knows what happened on Pitcairn, except that there was bloodshed. After a few years the Tahitian men apparently massacred Christian and three other Englishmen, leaving only John Adams, William McKoy, Matthew Quintal, and Edward Young alive. The Tahitian men were subsequently murdered in reprisal. McKoy, drunk, fell from a cliff, and Quintal was killed after threatening the lives of Adams and Young. Thus, after only a few years, the only mutineers remaining alive were Adams and Young. Young died soon after of asthma, the first man to die naturally.

In February, 1808, an American whaler commanded by Mayhew Folger chanced upon the Pitcairn community. Folger quickly realized that he had solved the mystery of the fate of the *Bounty* and sent news back to England via the Consul in Valparaiso, Chile. Folger found Pitcairn populated, like an embryonic Eden, largely by children and teenagers. There were only four adult women and one adult male, John Adams. When word reached England, Folger's account was curiously ignored or discounted. Two English naval frigates visited Pitcairn in 1814, and an American ship reached it in 1817, the year of Bligh's death. Published accounts of these visits caused a sensation around the world (see items #16 and #17).

Pandora's Voyage

Ten days after Bligh's return to England, in March, 1790, King George III announced his decision to have the *Bounty* mutineers pursued and captured. The Admiralty appointed Captain Edward Edwards, known for his ruthlessness and cruelty, to the task. Edwards in no way equalled Bligh in navigation skills. In fact, Bligh doubted Edwards' ability to even find his way to Tahiti, and said so publicly. Edwards had been the object of a mutiny himself in 1782 aboard the HMS *Narcissus*. The expedition sailed in the *Pandora*, a frigate of 24 guns that carried 160 men. The *Pandora's* voyage was a far more horrid illustration of the barbarity of the Royal Navy than anything attributed to Bligh.

The *Pandora* anchored in Matavai Bay, Tahiti, on March 23, 1791, after rounding the Horn and sailing close to Pitcairn. Fourteen of the *Bounty* men were apprehended, chained, and thrown into Edwards' infamous *Pandora's box*. Of the other crewmen, Charles Churchill had previously been murdered by Matthew Thompson, who was then killed by natives. The box was 18 feet by 11 feet and just taller than a man. Two tiny airholes provided ventilation. Concerned that his own crew could be persuaded to mutiny, Edwards forbid the prisoners to speak under penalty of death. Moreover, their hammocks were verminous, and they were unable to change clothes because they were so tightly bound. This unwarranted torture continued for two months while the *Pandora* was refitted in Tahiti.

No. XI.

THE LOSS OF THE PANDORA FRIGATE.

THE Pandora frigate, captain Edwards, was sent out after the mutineers of the Bounty sloop, lieutenant Bligh. At Otaheite ten of these men were found; and the ship, in the pursuit of her voyage, struck on a reef of rocks* on the 28th of August, 1791. Ninety-nine men were saved out of the wreck, including the ten prisoners. The whole number embarked in four boats belonging to the ship; viz. a pinnace of eight oars, two six-oared yawls, and one launch. The ship got off the reef a few hours after she struck, and was brought to an anchor; but, filling with water, sunk about sun-rise on the 29th. The boats were directed to rendezvous at Coupang in the island of Timor. The two yawls separated from Captain Edwards in the pinnace, who arrived at that place on the 16th of September by their account, or the 17th by the account of time at that place.

Each man's allowance was about three ounces of biscuit per day for the first three days: it was afterwards reduced to two ounces per day, and three small glasses of water or wine. There was no meat saved from the wreck—at least not enough to admit of a mouthful to each person.

With this scanty proportion of sustenance, it was remarked that their great sufferings arose more from deficiency of drink than the want of food. This dif-

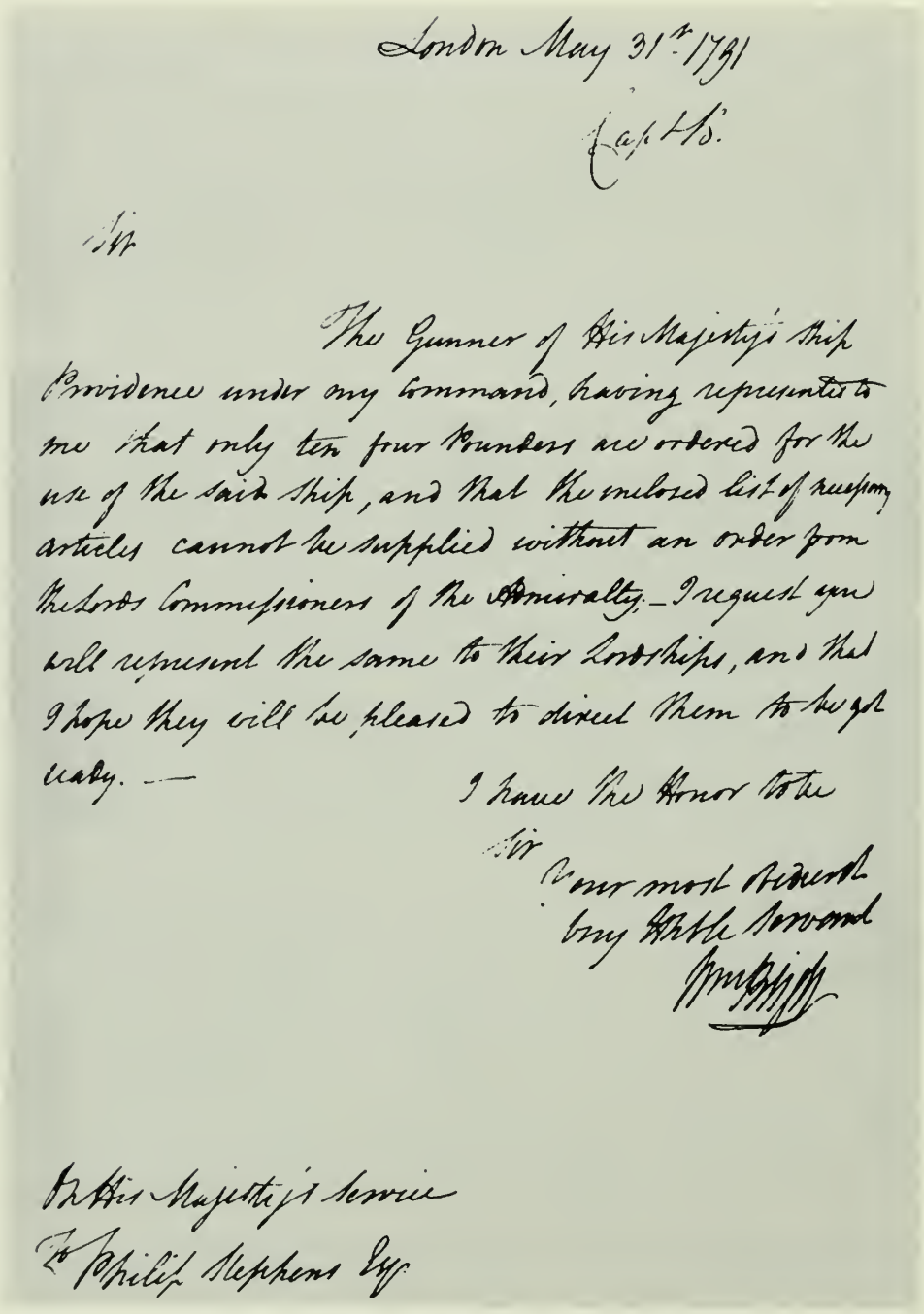
* Near the coast of New Guinea, about 1100 miles from the island of Timor.

First published account of the *Pandora* debacle by Captain Edward Edwards. From *The Narrative of Captain David Woodward* (Item 13).

Edwards sailed from Tahiti in May and spent several months searching in vain for the *Bounty*. At the beginning of August he gave up and headed home. Near the Great Barrier Reef, Edwards made inadequate safety precautions and the *Pandora* ran aground. Panic-stricken, the terrified, manacled prisoners somehow managed to shatter their shackles but were bound again under Edwards' orders. Though the water rose higher and higher, more guards were placed over the prisoners. Unbelievably, Edwards ordered them to be shot or hanged if the irons were broken again.

When it was obvious that the *Pandora* was lost, Edwards finally gave the order to abandon ship and jumped over the side with his officers. One officer recorded that Edwards ordered the release of the prisoners at this point. However, Robert Corner, the second lieutenant of the *Pandora*, wrote that Edwards simply ignored the frantic pleas for mercy coming from the box as he stepped on top of it to jump into the sea. According to Corner, the *master-at-arms, either by accident or by design, when slipping from the roof of 'Pandora's box' into the sea, let the keys of the irons fall through the scuttle or entrance, which he had just before opened, and thus enabled them to commence their own liberation.*[11] Amazingly, most escaped. When Edwards called roll on a sandbank three miles from the wreck, he found that 35 men had been lost, including four prisoners.

Edwards' vile treatment of the *Bounty* prisoners continued after the wreck. They were naked but were refused shelter from the fiery sun. Rather than risk further exposure and sunstroke, the prisoners buried themselves in the sand. As scapegoats for the entire disaster, the *Bounty*'s men were brutally abused by Edwards. Following in Bligh's wake, Edwards led a hungry and thirsty floating caravan of four open boats, containing 99 men, across the sea to Timor. It was not until the prisoners reached Cape Town and transferred to another ship that they were treated with any semblance of humanity. On June 19, 1792, they arrived in England. Of some solace to the prisoners was Edwards' court-martial for losing the *Pandora*, which concluded just two days before the mutineers' trial began.



London May 31st 1791

Capt Bligh.

Sir

The Gunner of His Majesty's Ship Providence under my Command, having represented to me that only ten four Pounders are ordered for the use of the said Ship, and that the enclosed List of necessary articles cannot be supplied without an order from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. I request you will represent the same to their Lordships, and that I hope they will be pleased to direct them to be got ready. —

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most Obedt

humy Servt

Wm Bligh

On His Majesty's Service

To Philip Stephens Esqr

Example of Bligh's handwriting in a letter written just prior to his second and highly successful breadfruit voyage. From the *Log of the H.M.S. Providence, 1791–1793* (Item 31).

Bounty Men on Trial

Of the 25 men left on the *Bounty* when Bligh was turned off, only 10 were tried for mutiny. Two days after Edwards' court-martial for the loss of *Pandora*, on September 12, 1792, the 10 survivors were brought to trial aboard HMS *Duke* (see item #11). They met various fates. Three were hanged in October, 1792; four were acquitted; and Peter Heywood, the 15-year-old midshipman, was pardoned by the King. Heywood went on to a distinguished career in the Navy, advancing to the rank of post captain, just below admiral. Within days of his release, Heywood wrote a moving letter to Edward Christian, Fletcher's brother, defending Fletcher Christian's actions and casting aspersions on Bligh. Heywood's letter, published in the *Cumberland Pacquet*, was the first intimation to the public that the official version of the *Bounty* mutiny was one-sided.

Edward Christian, six years older than Fletcher, was a distinguished lawyer and jurist. He was Chief Justice of the Isle of Ely, professor of the Laws of England at Cambridge, a founder of Downing College, and a commissioner for Bankrupts. Edward spent the next several months gathering information from most of the *Bounty*'s men in a crusade to clear his brother's name. He became Fletcher's chief public defender and Bligh's *bête noire*. At this time Bligh was far away on the second breadfruit expedition, which did not return until late in 1793. Bligh suffered criticism during the trial partly because he was away on the *Providence*. Back in England, Bligh was stunned at how public opinion and sympathy had turned against him. Although the second voyage had been highly successful, Bligh was snubbed by the Admiralty. His lieutenants discovered that his recommendations for promotion were useless.

Epilogue

Bligh's attempts to counter Edward Christian's accusations and stem the tide of public opinion were unsuccessful. He became something of a social outcast and his career suffered. On later ships there were continuing complaints about Bligh's inconsistent and insensitive command.

His greatest success came when, as captain of the HMS *Glatton* at the Battle of Copenhagen on April 2, 1801, he was commended

by Admiral Lord Nelson. The following month Bligh was made a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1805, Bligh was appointed governor of the penal colony of New South Wales, Australia. However, this appointment ended in the so-called Rum Mutiny of 1808. Bligh was exonerated from all blame and felt that his checkered career had been somewhat vindicated. He was advanced to Vice-Admiral of the Blue in 1814 and died three years later at age 63 on December 7, 1817.

The English public and press, captivated by the *Bounty* story, were ripe for new twists and turns. Rumors proliferated about Fletcher Christian's fate. Some wondered if he had really died. Others speculated that his journeys continued. A slim volume of letters purportedly penned by Christian from Cadiz received considerable attention in 1796. Unverified sightings of Christian in various ports and in England were also reported, the most important related by none other than Peter Heywood. Heywood claimed to have seen Christian in 1808 or 1809 on Plymouth Dock. According to Heywood's account, unpublished until 1831, Christian fled upon recognition.

In 1831 John Barrow published the first comprehensive book about the *Bounty* mutiny and Pitcairn Island called *The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of the H.M.S. Bounty: Its Causes and Consequences* (item #14). During the nineteenth century, each voyage to Pitcairn brought back confusing and contradictory stories of the mutiny and Christian's ultimate fate. The books and movies which have proliferated are testaments to the *Bounty*'s continuing appeal to the popular imagination.

Evidence of the public's sustained interest in the *Bounty* is reflected by the number of books published even within the last 20 years. Among these are facsimiles of original manuscripts and journals, fine press editions, contemporary studies and analyses of the men involved in the mutiny, issues of spurious works, and newly edited transcriptions of letters, trial notes, and journals.

The *Bounty* story and Pitcairn Island have inspired various literary treatments as well. Mary Russell Mitford (1787–1855) published a long romantic poem, *Christiana, the Maid of the South Seas* (London: A. J. Volpy, 1811), loosely based on the *Bounty* adventure. Early novels include *The Life of Alexander Smith* [John Adams], *One of the Mutineers of H.M.S. Bounty*

(Boston: S. T. Goss, 1819), by Charles Lenox Sargent (1778–1820); and *Jack Adams, the Mutineer* (London: Henry Colburn, 1838), a triple-decker by Fredrick Chamier (1796–1870).

The mutiny also attracted the attention of some of the nineteenth-century's most famous authors. Fletcher Christian, the embodiment of romantic rebellion, is the hero of George Gordon, Lord Byron's (1788–1824) poem, *The Island, or Christian and His Comrades* (London: Hunt, 1823). Byron, who depicts Tahiti as an idyllic paradise, portrays Bligh as a would-be Moses, capable of leading his men to the promised land—England—if only they would listen to him (see item #36). William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) also found interest in the *Bounty* story and wrote a poem based on the mysticism of the small Pitcairn Island. The title of his short work is "A Song of Pitcairn's Island" (item #37).

Cuthbert Selby Wilkinson, in the *Wake of the Bounty* (London: Cassell, 1953), draws on the old legend that Christian had escaped from Pitcairn and returned to England to support the hypothesis that Samuel Taylor Coleridge's (1772–1834) "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" was inspired by Fletcher Christian. The "Ancient Mariner" was first published in Coleridge and Wordsworth's famous collaboration, *Lyrical Ballads*, in 1798. It also appeared in succeeding editions of 1800 (item #35), 1802, and 1805. The hero of Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner" is a doomed rebel who voyages in the South Pacific. He is the only crewman on his ship to return home. According to Wilkinson, after the mutiny Coleridge could have met Christian in England through William Wordsworth. Most scholars, however, concur that a passage in George Shelvocke's (1690–1728) *A Voyage Around the World by Way of the Great South Sea* (London: J. Senex, 1726) provided Coleridge with source material for "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner."

Other nineteenth-century novels dealing with the *Bounty* include *The Lonely Island, or The Refuge of the Mutineers* (London: J. Nisbet, 1880) by R. M. Ballantyne (1825–1894; item #38); and George Lewis Becke (1855–1913) and Walter J. Jeffery's (1861–1922) *The Mutineer: A Romance of Pitcairn Island* (London: Unwin, 1898; see item #40).

American writers also turned their pens to the mutiny. Mark Twain (1835–1910) based a humorous short story, "The Great Revolution in Pitcairn," on the true story of an outsider who came to the island in

the 1830s. The stranger, whose name was Joshua Hill, claimed absolute authority, ruled over and suppressed the islanders, and eventually was overthrown. "The Great Revolution in Pitcairn" was first published in Twain's collection *The Stolen White Elephant* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1882; item #39). Jack London's (1876–1916) short story "The Seed of McCoy," first published in *South Sea Tales* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), centers around a charismatic descendant of the *Bounty* mutineers who holds the scared crew of a burning schooner together by his compelling presence and leads them to the safety of a sandy Pacific island (item #41).

There are twentieth-century novels also based on the *Bounty* mutiny. Owen Rutter (1884–1947), a prominent *Bounty* scholar, authored *Cain's Birthday* (London: Hutchinson, 1930). Charles Nordhoff (1887–1947) and James Norman Hall's (1887–1951) most enduring collaboration, *The Bounty Trilogy* was published in successive volumes (see items #42 and #43). The Nordhoff/Hall trilogy consists of *Mutiny!* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1932), known by its American title, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1932); *Men against the Sea* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1934), and *Pitcairn's Island* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1934). The patriarch of Pitcairn is the hero in *Adams of the Bounty* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1959) by Eric Wilson, a novel which softens the popular image of Bligh as a monstrous bully. Robert Merle (1908–), the well-known French novelist, transforms the *Bounty* into a merchant ship (along with other liberties) in *L'Ile* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962).

In addition to printed sources, five major motion pictures have been based on the *Bounty* story. These include *In the Wake of the Bounty* (Australian Expedition Films, 1933); *Mutiny on the Bounty* (MGM, 1935); *The Women of Pitcairn Island* (Fox, 1957); *Mutiny on the Bounty* (MGM, 1962); and *The Bounty* (Universal, 1984). The 1935 version, winner of the Best Picture Oscar, starred Charles Laughton as Bligh, Clark Gable as Christian, and Franchot Tone as Roger Byam. All three actors were nominated for Oscars in the Best Actor division, for the first and only time in film history. The 1933 film featured an early performance by Errol Flynn as Fletcher Christian. Other famous Christians include Marlon Brando (1962) and Mel Gibson (1984). Bligh was played by Trevor Howard in 1962 and by Anthony Hopkins in 1984.

As evidenced by the works noted, interest in the *Bounty* story runs in cycles. The mutiny's two-hundredth anniversary has rekindled public interest. Yet, in most accounts, some of which claim to resolve once and for all the old conflicts and differences of opinion, the basic issues become no clearer. A number of questions remain unexplained and probably always will. The overriding question that writers have struggled with for two centuries is who was at fault for the tragic event.

Who was to blame? While no consensus is likely ever to be reached, a clear case for shared fault remains. William Bligh was violent in speech and abrasive in command. But subordinates, especially aspiring commanders such as Fletcher Christian, had to remain under lawful command and carry out their duties no matter what the provocations. If Bligh failed as a commander, Christian failed as a subordinate in the line of duty.

The fact remains that the mutiny caught everyone by surprise. No one seems to have expected it. Bligh slept unarmed and unguarded in his open cabin. Christian apparently decided on it moments before he took over the watch at 4:00 a.m. That so many men went with Bligh in the open boat on what must have looked like a suicide voyage indicates their respect for him as a seaman if nothing else. If Bligh were an isolated tyrant then everyone would have been glad to get rid of him. For all his personality and management problems, Bligh was a peerless navigator and a fine seaman. He was a fighter, a survivor, a man of immense personal conviction and considerable courage. Nevertheless, he will forever be remembered as a harsh and brutal captain who drove his crew to despair and finally to mutiny.

On the other side, Fletcher Christian's rashness jeopardized the life of every man aboard, especially the 19 cast adrift. The mutiny was a tragedy, an act of madness which eventually destroyed him and many others. Ultimately, Christian was also responsible for the other lives lost as a direct result of the mutiny, and for the suffering and bloodshed on Pitcairn. It must be remembered, too, at the final reckoning, that it was Bligh and most of the castaways who survived the mutiny and returned to family and friends. The mutineers did not fare as well.

John Barrow, in 1831, summarized the mutiny this way:

> *No conspiracy nor preconcerted measures had any existence, but that it was suddenly conceived by a hot-headed young man, in a state of great excitement of mind, amounting to a temporary aberration of intellect, caused by the frequent abusive and insulting language of his commanding officer.*[12]

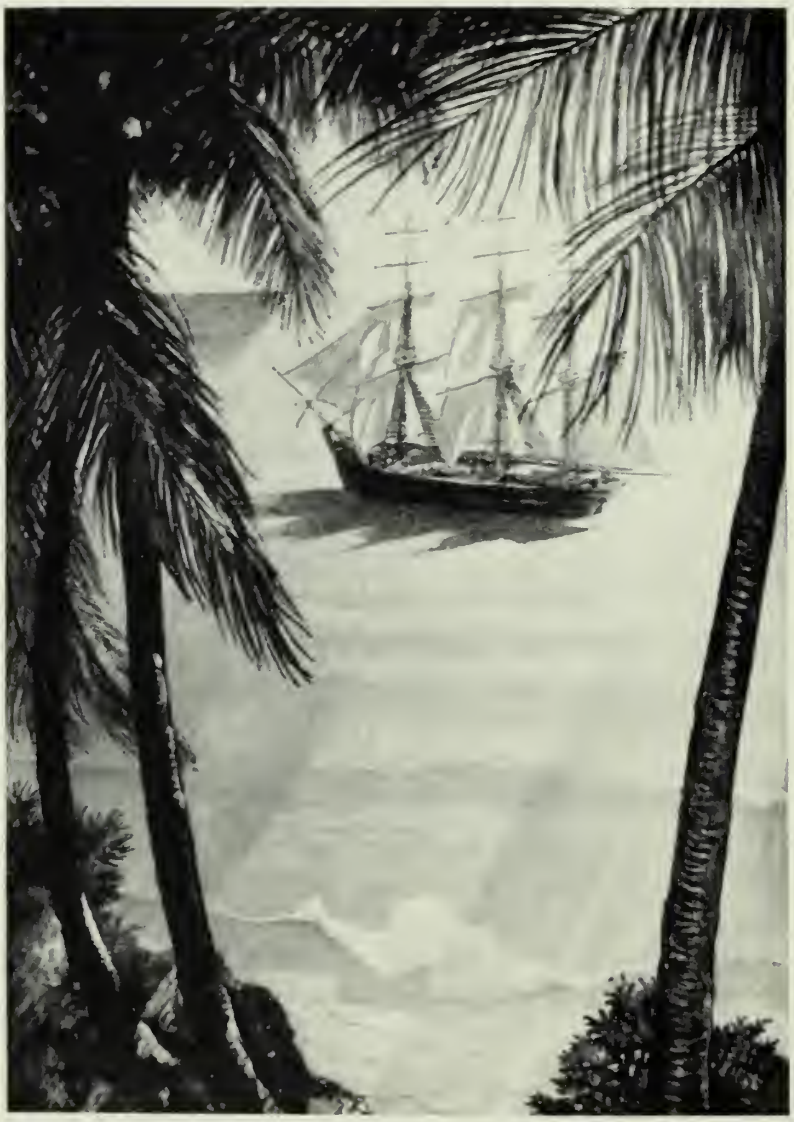


Illustration by N. C. Wyeth from
Nordhoff and Hall's *The Bounty Trilogy* (Item 43).

NOTES

1. William Bligh, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London: G. Nicol, 1792), 5–6.
2. H. E. Maude, "In Search of a Home," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 67, no. 2 (June, 1958): 104–31.
3. Bligh, 33.
4. Bligh, 154.
5. Bligh, 82.
6. Bligh, 191–92.
7. Bligh, 192.
8. Bligh, 194.
9. Bligh, 227.
10. Bligh, 234.
11. *Voyage of the H.M.S. 'Pandora'* (London: F. Edwards, 1915), 144.
12. John Barrow, *The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H.M.S. Bounty: Its Cause and Consequences* (London: J. Murray, 1831), 88.

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BOUNTY EXHIBIT

Pages

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EXHIBIT

The Voyage and the Mutiny

1. BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.

A Narrative of the Mutiny, on Board His Majesty's Ship the Bounty; and the Subsequent Voyage of Part of the Crew, in the Ship's Boat, from Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, to Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East Indies. Written by Lieutenant William Bligh. Illustrated with Charts.

London: Printed for George Nicol, Bookseller to His Majesty, Pall Mall, MDCCXC [1790].

iv, 88 p., 3 folded charts (incl. front.), plan (fold.). 30 cm.

¾ morocco, marbled boards.

Bligh's Narrative printed on spine label.

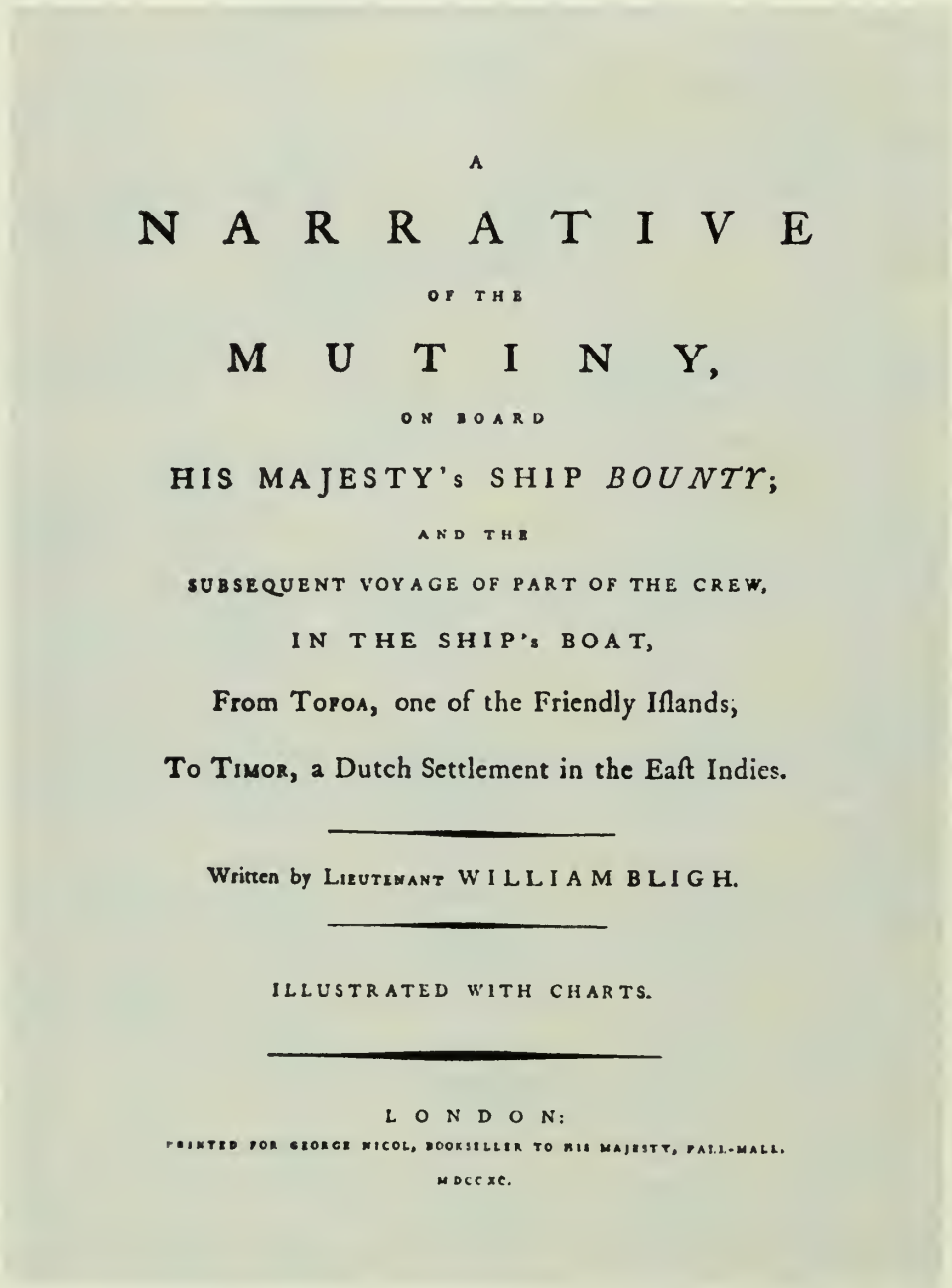
First edition.

The mutiny on board HMS *Bounty* at 4:30 a.m. on April 28, 1789, is one of those tales of the sea which effortlessly capture the imagination. The *Narrative*, Bligh's first account of this notorious incident in maritime history, predates his full account of the voyage by two years. Bligh was anxious to have his narrative of the mutiny available to safeguard his reputation and to present copies to the Admiralty before a court-martial of the mutineers, and thus absolve himself from any blame. This work, as later described in Bligh's official account (item #3), was published *for the purpose of communicating early information concerning an event which had attracted the public notice: and being drawn up in a hasty manner, it required many corrections* (p. 1).

The *Narrative* covers the mutiny from April, 1789, when the *Bounty* left Tahiti, to March 14, 1790, when Bligh landed at Portsmouth, England. Much of the work relates Bligh's perilous 3,600 mile postmutiny open-boat journey to Timor in the East Dutch Indies. The well-written and moving account shows Bligh as a master of words and as a master of the sea. As a result of Bligh's *Narrative*, the Admiralty dispatched the HMS *Pandora*, a 24-gun frigate, to apprehend the *Bounty* mutineers (see item #10).

Bligh's *Narrative* was an instant success. The work evoked considerable public sympathy and was reprinted and translated into several languages. The first American edition (Philadelphia: William Spotswood) also appeared in 1790. The *Narrative* redeemed Bligh only temporarily. Bligh later came under criticism from the Admiralty and others for neglecting to record conflicts that arose during the *Bounty* voyage. After the court-martial of the

apprehended *Bounty* mutineers in 1792, the Admiralty and fellow officers snubbed Bligh and he fell into public disfavor.



A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

MUTINY,

ON BOARD

HIS MAJESTY's SHIP *BOUNTY*;

AND THE

SUBSEQUENT VOYAGE OF PART OF THE CREW,

IN THE SHIP's BOAT,

From Tofoa, one of the Friendly Iſlands;

To Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the Eaſt Indies.

Written by Lieutenant WILLIAM BLIGH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR GEORGE NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL.

MDCCXC.

Title page from Bligh's 1790 *A Narrative of the Bounty* (Item 1).

2. BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.

The Bligh Notebook, 'Rough account—Lieutenant Wm Bligh's Voyage in the Bounty's Launch from the Ship to Tofua & from thence to Timor,' 28 April to 14 June 1789. With a draft list of the Bounty Mutineers. Facsimile Edition in two volumes. Edited by John Bach, Associate Professor of History, University of Newcastle.

Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1986.

2 vol., 3 folded sheets, illus. (some col.), port., folded plans.

16.5, 25 cm.—sheets 33 x 20 cm. folded to 16 x 10 cm.

Issued in case with ties. Bibliography: vol. 2, pp. [211]–12.

"The three loose leaves with descriptions of the mutineers in Bligh's hand are facsimile reproductions of the sheets that accompanied the notebook when it was acquired."

Volume one: The Facsimile.

Volume two: The Transcription.

Edition limited to 500 bound copies numbered 1 to 500, and 50 unbound sets of sheets numbered i to l; BYU's copy is number 358.

On April 28, 1789, Bligh and 18 others were set adrift from the *Bounty* by their mutinous fellow crewmen. A landing on nearby Tofua to take on food and water ended in disaster when the natives attacked and killed one man. The survivors then sailed west in a 23-foot launch over 3,600 miles (6,000 kilometers) across the Pacific Ocean to the Timor Sea. They reached Timor on June 14, 1789. On this perilous voyage Bligh continued his former *Bounty* task of keeping the ship's log. This notebook is a continuous narrative of events from the mutiny on April 28 to May 7, 1789, together with two sketch maps and scattered pages of calculations and navigational information.

It happened that a Mr. [*Thomas*] *Hayward had this book with some signals set down in it which appear in two pages and I appropriated the blank leaves to this use,* said Bligh of the small book that he used to record his account of the post-mutiny journey in the open boat to Tofua and from *thence to Timor* (title page).

The original notebook is a small leatherbound and waterstained pocket book of 108 pages. How the record was made in a small notebook as well as the entries themselves, vividly show the stress of events as well as the author's powers of observation and attention to detail. The notebook was initially a signal book kept by midshipman Thomas Hayward on board the *Bounty*. Following the mutiny, Bligh appropriated it for use as the deck log of the launch during the voyage to Timor. In the notebook, Bligh made rough notes of daily events as they happened, while at the same time protecting

A

VOYAGE

TO THE

SOUTH SEA,

UNDERTAKEN BY COMMAND OF

HIS MAJESTY,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF

CONVEYING THE BREAD-FRUIT TREE
TO THE WEST INDIES,

IN HIS MAJESTY's SHIP THE BOUNTY,

COMMANDED BY

LIEUTENANT *WILLIAM BLIGH.*

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE

MUTINY ON BOARD THE SAID SHIP,

AND THE

SUBSEQUENT VOYAGE of Part of the CREW, in the SHIP's BOAT,

From TOFOA, one of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS,

To TIMOR, a DUTCH SETTLEMENT in the East Indies.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS, &c.

PUBLISHED BY PERMISSION OF THE

LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR GEORGE NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL.

M.DCC.XCII.

Title page from Bligh's 1792 *A Voyage to the South Sea* (Item 3).

his valuable official log in a situation which was frequently so wet that he could scarcely open a book and write. When conditions were favorable, Bligh wrote up his log from the entries in the notebook which was kept, as he relates, *in my bosum*, under his jacket and as dry as possible.

Published for the first time in both facsimile and transcription, Bligh's notebook provides an opportunity to reassess William Bligh and the *Bounty* mutiny directly from Bligh's own notes. The original was acquired by the National Library of Australia in 1976. It had been in the possession of the Bligh family and its descendants until that date.

3. BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.

A Voyage to the South Sea, Undertaken by Command of His Majesty, for the Purpose of Conveying the Bread-fruit Tree to the West Indies, in His Majesty's Ship the Bounty, Commanded by Lieutenant William Bligh. Including an Account of the Mutiny on Board the Said Ship, and the Subsequent Voyage of Part of the Crew, in the Ship's Boat, from Tofoa, One of the Friendly Islands, to Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East Indies. The Whole Illustrated with Charts, &c. Published by Permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

London: Printed for George Nicol, Bookseller to His Majesty, Pall Mall, M.DCC.XCII [1792].

5 p. l, 264 p. front. (port.), 4 charts (most folded), 2 plans (fold.), plate. 29 cm.

Engraved portrait of Bligh on frontispiece.

Bligh's Voyage printed on spine label.

First edition.

First edition of the official account of the *Bounty* expedition and mutiny includes a more comprehensive and considerably revised version of Bligh's 1790 *Narrative* (item #1). The *Voyage* opens with a statement of the plan of the expedition, covers the journey to the time of the mutiny, details the mutiny on April 28, 1789, describes the voyage of the launch to Timor, and ends upon Bligh's return to England. The account is surprisingly objective, especially when one considers that Bligh was burning with feelings of insult and the need for vindication, as expressed in letters and memorials of the time.

In addition to primary information about the mutiny, nearly one-half of the work is devoted to descriptions of native life on Tahiti. Bligh was a keen observer of Tahitian customs and society. The *Voyage* is a vivid, detailed

and well-written account. For example, Bligh wrote that when the *Bounty* first reached Matavai Bay in Tahiti, the natives *crowded on board in vast numbers, notwithstanding our endeavors to prevent it, as we were working the ship in; and in less than ten minutes, the deck was so full that I could scarce find my own people* (p. 59).

When the work was published, Bligh was absent from London on his second breadfruit voyage. The *Voyage* was based on his journal but was written, edited, and managed at the press by his friend and former shipmate Captain James Burney, with the assistance of Sir Joseph Banks. Ironically, after Bligh returned to Tahiti again for more breadfruit and delivered the plants to the West Indian plantations, it was discovered that the natives did not care for the taste of breadfruit; they much preferred their own bananas.

The *Voyage* was reprinted twice in the next two years and translated into French and German.

Illustration of the seizure of Bligh during the mutiny on the *Bounty*. From a modern fine-press edition of Bligh's *A Voyage to the South Sea* (Item 5).

4. BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.

The Log of H.M.S. Bounty, 1787–1789, by Lieutenant W. Bligh.

Guildford, Surrey, England: Genesis Publications Limited, 1975.

[10], 362, [73] p., 2 leaves of plates, illus. 32.5 cm.

Bound in ¾ modern calf, title printed on maroon.

Morocco spine label, cased.

Forward by the Earl of Mountbatten of Burma.

"This edition has been reproduced in complete facsimile from the manuscript reference ADM/151, held at the Public Record Office in London."

Includes original title page: "Lieutenant William Bligh's log of the proceedings of His Majesty's armed vessel *Bounty*, in a voyage to the South Seas, to take the breadfruit from the Society Islands to the West Indies."

Edition limited to 500 copies; BYU's copy is number 31.

A complete facsimile of Bligh's holograph log on the *Bounty* and his epic open-boat voyage, from the manuscript held at the Public Record Office in London, it was from this account that James Burney and Joseph Banks prepared Bligh's *Voyage* in 1792.

Bligh's log tells the story of the *Bounty* from her outfitting in the fall of 1788. It continues with the fascinating account of the mutiny and the incredible voyage of the small launch in which Bligh and 18 others were cast adrift. The log concludes with Bligh's *Remarks at Coupang in Timor*, dated August 20, 1789.

Illustration of the first part of the open-boat voyage to Timor.
From a modern fine-press edition of Bligh's *A Voyage to the South Sea* (Item 5).

5. BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.

A Voyage to the South Sea, Undertaken by command of His Majesty, for the purpose of conveying the Bread-fruit Tree to the West Indies, in His Majesty's Ship Bounty, commanded by Lieutenant William Bligh. Including an account of the Mutiny on board the said ship and the subsequent voyage of part of the crew in the ship's boat, from Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, to Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East Indies.

Adelaide, South Australia: Printed at the Griffin Press for the Members of the Limited Editions Club, 1975.

Introduced by Alan Villiers and illustrated with watercolors and drawings by Geoffrey C. Ingleton.

xix, [1], 150, [2] p., [1] leaf of col. plates, col. illus., port., map. 37 cm.

Illustrated end papers.

Printed marginalia.

Map on back end papers.

Bound in full gray linen with illustration on covers and black label on spine. Cased.

Signed by illustrator, Geoffrey C. Ingleton, and designer, Douglas A. Dunstan.

2000 copies of this edition were printed; BYU's copy is number 31.

This is the Limited Editions Club edition of Bligh's *A Voyage to the South Sea.* In the Introduction, Alan Villiers writes in tribute to Bligh:

> *He died in bed, after his often stormy life: and no man before or since showed greater courage against the natural and man-made hazards of the sea. Bligh had his faults, like all men of character. But to me he has always been almost an inspiration.* (P. xi)

6. [BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.]

An Account of the Mutinous Seizure of the Bounty.

Guildford, Surrey, England: Genesis Publications Limited, 1987.

2 vol. in 1 (xxxiii, [3], [5]–47 p., [2] leaves, [9]–76, [2] p.),

[7] p. of plates (most col.): ill., port. 24 cm.

Each part has separate title page.

"An Account of the Mutinous Seizure of *The Bounty*: With the succeeding Hardships of the Crew. To which are added Secret Anecdotes of the Otaheitean Females."

Reprint (1st work). Originally published London: Printed for E. Bently, [1792?].

Introduction by Stephen Walters.
Plates are colored photos.
Bound in ¾ dark-green leather, green marble boards, ornamented spine, *The Mutinous Seizure of the Bounty* printed on red leather spine label.
Edition limited to 150 copies; BYU's copy is number 31.

Facsimile edition of two early popular works on the *Bounty* mutiny, illustrated with still color photographs from the 1984 Universal film, *The Bounty*. Capitalizing on the public's intense interest in the mutiny and Bligh's safe return to England on March 14, 1790, publisher Robert Turner saw that money could be made by upstaging the official account being prepared by Bligh. Taking information from current newspaper articles and from Hawkesworth's *Voyages* (item #28) and other recently published accounts of Tahitian visits, Turner produced this sensationalized version of the mutiny.

Catering to public demand, Turner published separate issues in 1790, 1791, and 1792, illustrated between sections only by two small woodcut vignettes of ships. An undated variant edition by E. Bently, London, appeared in a larger format with an attractive engraved frontispiece depicting Bligh in his night shirt. The date of Bently's version is believed to be 1792. By virtue of a larger type face, Bently's edition has a greater number of pages, 76, as opposed to 47 in Turner.

The most important variation in the two editions occurs on page 42 of Turner, neatly placed between the main text and *The Secret Anecdotes of the Otahetian Females*—bowdlerized from Hawkesworth—under a single paragraph dated June 20, 1790:

> *We learn from a Mr. Meredith, just come from China, and who has also been at Otaheite, that Christian and his crew had visited that island without the captain, and with only part of the crew; but had left it, a short time before Mr. Meredith arrived, with a promise to return. It is probable, from this account, that they have turned pirates.*

This is probably the earliest report in printed form about Fletcher Christian's movements after the mutiny. Other newspaper accounts subsequently appeared detailing Christian's alleged return via Spain to England. These reports culminated in the anonymous publication of letters purported to be by Fletcher Christian, detailing his activities after the mutiny (see item #34).

7. FRYER, John, 1752 or [3]–1817.

The Voyage of the Bounty Launch. John Fryer's Narrative. With an Introduction by Stephen Walters.

Guildford, Surrey, England: Genesis Publications Limited in association with Rigby Limited, 1979.

44, [184] p., [1] folded, leaf of plates.

Illus., facsims., fold. map, col. ports. 25 cm.

Bibliography, pp. [179–80].

Edition limited to 500 signed copies; BYU's copy is number 31.

A facsimile of the original handwritten journal of John Fryer, the *Bounty*'s Master, who was with Bligh in the launch during the postmutiny open-boat voyage. Fryer's journal starts with the events immediately prior to the mutiny, with the departure from Tahiti on April 4, 1789, and continues for 48 days until June 14, 1789, when the incredible open-boat voyage ended. Although Fryer was loyal to Bligh and joined him in the launch, he severely criticized Bligh as the ship's commander. Fryer wrote his journal to counter Bligh's *biased and self-serving accounts* of the *Bounty* mutiny and the launch voyage (items #1 and #3). It can be assumed that Fryer expected to publish his own account as well.

Little is known of John Fryer. He was born in 1752 at Wells-Next-The-Sea, Norfolk, and married Ann Sporne in 1780. In 1781 he qualified as Master of the Sixth Rate. By 1787, when he was appointed the *Bounty*'s Master by the Admiralty, he had advanced to Master of the Third Rate, a rank beyond which he never rose.

Although Bligh wrote favorably of Fryer at the outset of the *Bounty* voyage, the two soon had a falling out. Fryer was not well liked by the *Bounty* crew either, and during the mutiny Fryer was one of the first officers to be put under guard. He was ordered into the open boat right at the start and was not given a chance to refuse.

As his journal shows, even under severe pressure from the elements and with his life in the balance, Fryer continued to be peevish and argumentative with Bligh during the open-boat voyage. Upon their safe return to England, Bligh threatened Fryer with court-martial, but for some reason relented. It would have been feasible for Fryer or any of the other *Bounty* crew having a grievance against Bligh to bring countercharges. However, when specifically asked by the Admiralty at the general court-martial regarding the loss of the *Bounty* whether any crewman had a comment or complaint to make against Bligh, they all, including Fryer, declined. John Fryer served on several

ships following the *Bounty* misadventure and died in 1817, the same year as Bligh.

The original Fryer manuscript, probably written after Bligh's *Voyage* (1792; item #3), is owned by the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Australia.

8. BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.

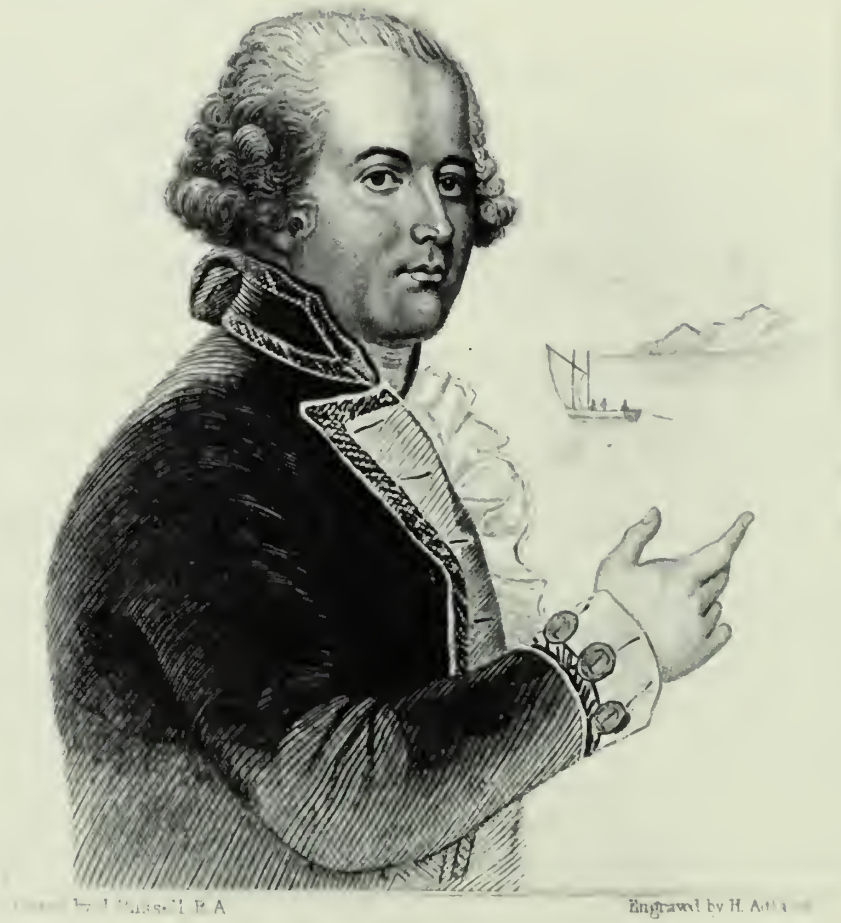
Bligh's Voyage in the Resource from Coupang to Batavia, Together with the Log of his Subsequent Passage to England in the Dutch Packet Vlydt, and his Remarks on Morrison's Journal. All Printed for the First Time from the Manuscripts in the Mitchell Library of New South Wales, with an Introduction and notes by Owen Rutter, & Engravings on Wood by Peter Barker-Mill.

[London]: Golden Cockerel Press, 1937.
159, [1] p., illus. (incl. map, facsims.). 32 cm.
Original blue and fawn cloth.
Edition limited to 350 copies; BYU's copy is number 245.

An account of the two legs of Bligh's return to England in two separate vessels, the HM schooner *Resource* and the *Vlydt*, this work was made from a copy of Bligh's log on the *Resource* in the Mitchell Library in Sydney. The *Resource* log starts on August 8, 1789, and ends on October 16, 1789. It covers Bligh's postmutiny journey from Coupang in Timor to Batavia. The log of his subsequent passage to England aboard the *Vlydt* covers the period from October 17, 1789, to March 14, 1790, from Batavia to England.

In Bligh's printed narrative, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (item #3), only a few pages are devoted to his activities after he left Timor. Bligh's *Voyage* omitted any mention of an outbreak of insubordination aboard the *Resource* among the ship's company while at Sourabaya. In the *Resource* log, Bligh gives the full details. It is evident that but for his prompt action in placing the ringleaders under arrest and hauling them before the Dutch authorities he might have been the victim of another mutiny.

Following the attempted mutiny, Bligh refused to have John Fryer, the Master, and William Purcell, the carpenter, with him in the schooner but made them continue the voyage in the native praus which the Dutch governor gave him as an escort against pirates who infested the Malay Archipelago. Fryer was allowed on board again when they reached Samarang and was released from arrest, but Purcell remained under arrest until he arrived in England, where he was tried by court-martial and reprimanded.



Engraved portrait of Bligh, with facsimile signature.
From Murray's *Pitcairn* (Item 23).

Bligh's *Resource* log is also significant for details of the ship's course along the coasts of the Dutch East Indies islands.

In the shorter *Vlydt* log, on which Bligh was only a passenger, he does little to conceal his contempt for Dutch seamanship. In one caustic entry he boasted, *I am certain that if I had the Command of this vessel I could run* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *knot pr Hour more than this man* (p. 111). The lack of cleanliness equally disgusted him: *The men are stinking and dirty with long beards, and their bedding a nuisance, as may be conceived when they have not washed hammocks since they have been from Europe* (p. 113). Bligh found some satisfaction in keeping a daily record of his own observations and comparing them with those of the ship's officers. It took Bligh 61 days to reach the Cape of Good Hope from Batavia, and another 71 to reach England.

The two logs thus display many of Bligh's characteristics, which remained constant throughout his career—his dislike of inefficiency, his insistence on discipline, his accuracy as a navigator, his determination in the face of danger, and his irascibility. Also included in the work is a reprint of Bligh's nine-page manuscript reply to the vehement accusations against him of James Morrison (the *Bounty*'s boatswain's mate). Bligh's reply is undated but bears signs that he was in a state of intense indignation when he wrote it. He calls Morrison, who although convicted of mutiny had received the King's pardon, *the worst of the Mutineers next to Christian & Churchill, if not their adviser* (p. 154).

9. [BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.]

"Account of the Miraculous Escape of Captain Bligh, of the *Bounty* Sloop," in *The Annual Register, or A View of the History, Politics, and Literature, For the Year 1790.*

London: Printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall, 1793, pp. 252–54.

This account in the *Annual Register* is of Bligh's open-boat voyage and subsequent postmutiny events. It is very favorable to Bligh. The sympathetic tone is undoubtedly due to Bligh's 1790 *Narrative* (item #1) and the expanded 1792 *Voyage* (item #3) account, published under the auspices of the Admiralty. Bligh's two works were the only versions of the mutiny available to the public until 1794, when Edward Christian (Fletcher's brother) and other members of Bligh's open-boat party began to respond with their own published accounts.

The *Annual Register* narrative, which closely follows Bligh's version of the mutiny, shows the early attitude of the English press toward the misadventure. Later accounts would not be so forgiving of Bligh's part in the mutiny.

Apprehension and Court-Martial of the Mutineers

10. EDWARDS, Edward.

Voyage of the H.M.S. 'Pandora' Despatched to Arrest the Mutineers of the 'Bounty' in the South Seas, 1790–91. Being the Narratives of Captain Edward Edwards, R.N., the Commander, and George Hamilton, the Surgeon. With an Introduction and Notes by Basil Thomson.

London: Francis Edwards, 83 High Street, Marylebone, 1915.

3 p. l., 177 p., fold. map. 22 cm.

A Voyage Round the World, by George Hamilton (pp. [91]–172) was first printed at Berwick, 1793.

The mutiny on the *Bounty* occurred on April 28, 1789, resulting in Bligh and 18 of the crew being cast adrift in an open boat. Although the mutiny was bloodless, its aftermath was dramatically brutal. No less than half of the crew of the notorious vessel came to violent ends. After Bligh's miraculous return and the hasty publication of his *Narrative* in 1790 (item #1), the 24-gun frigate HMS *Pandora* was dispatched in August 1790 to apprehend the *Bounty* mutineers and return them to justice in England.

Captain Edward Edwards, the officer chosen for command, had a reputation as a seaman and a disciplinarian but lacked South Seas experience. Bligh said openly at the time that it was doubtful that Edwards could even find his way to Tahiti. Edwards saw the voyage only as a police mission, without any scientific object. Edwards was *a cold hard man*, writes Basil Thomson in the introduction, *devoid of sympathy and imagination, of every interest beyond the straitened limits of his profession, Edwards in the eye of posterity was almost the worst man that could have been chosen* (p. 4).

Edwards was given a company of 160 men, mostly landsmen. Two midshipmen of the *Bounty*'s launch were aboard who could identify Bligh's former crewmen. The *Pandora* anchored at Matavai Bay, Tahiti, on March 23, 1791. They immediately began to apprehend the men who had remained in Tahiti either because they considered themselves innocent or because they thought they would never be captured.

Fletcher Christian and the other ringleaders had settled on Pitcairn Island more than a year earlier. On Tahiti, *Bounty* mutineer Charles Churchill had been murdered by Matthew Thompson, who was then killed by natives. The remaining 14 *Bounty* survivors surrendered or were caught and brought aboard the *Pandora*. Edwards was a more severe commander than Bligh, and his first lieutenant was even harsher. All the *Bounty* men were assumed guilty.

Aquatint (1790) by Robert Dodd of Bligh and his companions beginning their voyage in the *Bounty*'s launch after the mutiny. From Barrow's *The Eventful History of the Mutiny* (Item 14; 1980 edition).

They were penned like animals in what came to be called *Pandora's box*, an iron-barred roundhouse built on the frigate's quarter deck. They were shackled in irons in this cage, naked and vermin-covered under the tropical sun. Edwards did not trust his crew either, fearing that they might likewise be tempted by the delights of Tahiti. He was also apprehensive that the natives, who had formed bonds with the alleged mutineers, might try to attack.

The *Pandora*, with the little *pirate-built* schooner *Resolution*, left Tahiti on May 8, 1791. It cruised separately among several island groups, searching for the missing mutineers but finding none. Edwards is credited with the discovery of Tureia in the Tuamotus, Nukunono in the Tokelaus, two small islands east of the Santa Cruz group, and Rotuma. His ship passed Vanikoro and sighted smoke rising on shore. Had he investigated, he would undoubtedly have solved the mystery of the disappearance of the La Prouse frigates and rescued the survivors.

Attempting to find a passage through the Great Barrier Reef, the *Pandora* was wrecked on the night of August 28, 1791. For hours after she struck, Edwards kept the prisoners in their cage, still in chains and guarded by sentinels with orders to fire if they moved. All but three prisoners were kept in the box even after it was evident that the *Pandora* was doomed. After 11 hours, keys were dropped into the cage as the captain and his officers abandoned ship. Four of the *Bounty* men were unable to unlock their manacles and perished when the ship broke up, drowning along with 31 of the ship's company.

When the surviving 10 prisoners at last reached England, they were put on trial. Four were acquitted. Of the six found guilty, only three were finally executed in Portsmouth Harbor on October 29, 1792, three-and-a-half years after the mutiny. Captain Edwards, exonerated for the loss of his ship, rose rapidly in the British Navy and became a Full Admiral in 1810. However, the reputation of Edwards suffered later by the attack on his character by the Admiralty Secretary, Sir John Barrow, who wrote in his *Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H.M.S. Bounty* (item #14) that Edward Edwards *was a man of cold phlegmatic disposition, whom no distress could move, and whose feelings were not easily disturbed by the sufferings of his fellow-creatures* (p. 172).

11. *The Court-Martial of the 'Bounty' Mutineers.* Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Owen Rutter, F.R.G.S., Late District Magistrate, British North Borneo Civil Service.

Edinburgh and London: William Hodge & Company, Limited, [1931].

x, 1, 202 p., [10] leaves of plates, ports., facsims. 21.5 cm.

(Notable British Trials).

Court-martial on board His Majesty's ship *Duke* in Portsmouth, September, 1792.

"Trial of the said Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas Ellison, Thomas M'Intosh, Thomas Burkitt, John Millward, William Muspratt, and Michael Byrn for mutinously running away with the said armed vessel the *Bounty* and deserting from His Majesty's service," pp. 69–70.

Bibliography, pp. 200–202.

This work is a reissue of the 1792 proceedings of the court-martial of the *Bounty* men who were captured in Tahiti and who survived the foundering of the *Pandora*. The court-martial began in London on September 12, 1792, and lasted six days. Seamen Norman, Coleman, M'Intosh, and Byrne were acquitted. Heywood, Morrison, Ellison, Burkitt, Millward, and Muspratt were sentenced to hang with Heywood and Morrison recommended to the King for mercy. Both were granted mercy, and Muspratt was pardoned on a technical procedure. The remaining three were hanged from the yardarm of the HMS *Brunswick* in Portsmouth Harbor on October 29, 1792.

Testimony given during the court-martial was severely damaging to Bligh, who was at the time on his second breadfruit mission aboard the *Providence* (see item #31). Bligh's popularity waned with the reports of his behavior on the *Bounty*. Edward Christian, Fletcher's brother, led the attack against Bligh in hopes of redeeming his brother's reputation. The 1792 publication of the proceedings of the court-martial had an appendix written by Edward Christian. Edward's sustained attack on Bligh built public empathy for Fletcher. Following the court-martial, Bligh's reputation was damaged for life.

12. HAMMOND, Sir Andrew Snape, 1738–1828.

"Particulars of the late Execution on-board the *Brunswick*," in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 62, part 2, July–December, 1792, pp. 1097–98.

This unsigned article was written by Captain Andrew Hammond, a member of the *Bounty*'s court-martial panel which decided the fate of the 10 captured mutineers. He was therefore an eyewitness to the proceedings. Hammond defends the events of the court-martial as fair and impartial. He writes that the five men who were pardoned and the two men who were recommended for the King's mercy were so treated because of lack of evidence. He characterizes the accused as men of *education and capacity.*

In this short article Captain Hammond colors the event with a sense of humanitarianism and solemnity. One passage relates Hammond's open criticism of an executioner who lacked compassion in a very emotional situation. He defends the action taken by the court as being impartial with concern only for justice.

Illustration of the open-boat voyage from *Bligh and the Bounty* (1936).

Additional Published Mutiny Accounts

13. WOODWARD, David.

The Narrative of Captain David Woodward and Four Seamen, Who Lost their Ship While in a Boat at Sea, and Surrendered Themselves up to the Malays, in the Island of Celebes; Containing an Interesting Account of their Sufferings from Hunger and Various Hardships, and their Escape from the Malays, after a Captivity of Two Years and a Half: Also an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Country, and a Description of the Harbours and Coast, etc. Together with an Introduction, and Appendix, Containing Narratives of Various Escapes from Shipwrecks, Under Great Hardships and Abstinence; Holding Out a Valuable Seaman's Guide, and the Importance of Union, Confidence, and Perseverance, in the Midst of Distress.

London: Printed for J. Johnson, 72 St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1805.
xxxii, 236 p., front. (prot.), 2 plates, 2 fold. maps. 21 cm.
Second edition (first edition printed in 1804).
"A Brief Vocabulary of the Malay Language," pp. [134]–39.
"Books Useful to Seamen," p. 236.

Appendix V summarizes Bligh's open-boat voyage (pp. 166–74). In Appendix XI (pp. 195–96), Woodward also supplies an early account of the *Pandora* debacle and the fate of the *Bounty* survivors given to him by Captain Edward Edwards. The ship's surgeon, George Hamilton, had published an earlier work entitled *A Voyage Round the World, in His Majesty's Frigate 'Pandora'* (London: W. Phorson, B. Law & Son) in 1793, but Woodward's book includes the first account attributed to Captain Edwards.

In January, 1793, Captain David Woodward sailed in the American ship *Enterprise* from Batavia to Manila. Sent off in a boat with five others to purchase provisions from another vessel, they found themselves separated from both ships during a storm. The seamen spent many days trying to locate their ship but were finally forced to land on the Celebes, where one man was murdered by the Malays and the others taken into captivity. After two-and-a-half years, they escaped with the help of a Mohammedan priest and gradually made their way to Macassar, and then back to Batavia. Included in the book is a geographical account of the Celebes, a brief vocabulary of the Malay language, various accounts of land and sea hardships, and a lurid tale from one of the survivors of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

14. BARROW, Sir John, 1764–1848.

The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H.M.S. Bounty: Its Cause and Consequences. Illustrated by Six Etchings from Original Drawings by Lieut.-Colonel Batty.

London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, MDCCCXXXI [1831].
xi, 356 p., [6] leaves of plates, illus. 14.5 cm.
(The Family Library, no. 25).
First edition.

At the time this book was written John Barrow was the Second Secretary of the Admiralty, a post he held for 41 years. Barrow's impartial account of the *Bounty* mutiny is considered the final statement by the Admiralty regarding the mutiny's causes and consequences. Barrow used existing accounts of the mutiny and attempted to resolve the question of fault. He had little sympathy for either Bligh or Christian, feeling that they shared the blame. Barrow was extremely sympathetic to the mutineers captured by the *Pandora* and openly criticized Captain Edwards.

Previously unpublished memoirs of Peter Heywood, including correspondence with his sister while he was in prison awaiting trial, were published in this account.

Barrow was an intimate of Heywood's family and had probably met Bligh socially. He was therefore ideally placed to write authoritatively about the whole affair and sufficiently detached to write with generous impartiality. This work is important because Barrow, as a senior official, had access to journals and documents in the British Admiralty. His comments are seen to be congruent with the opinion of the Admiralty, which had refused to comment on the event since the *Bounty* court-martial in 1792. His early treatment of the Pitcairn settlement in the final chapter is also significant. Sir John Barrow's coverage of the mutiny on the *Bounty* inspired James Norman Hall and Charles Nordhoff to coauthor their fictional account of the event (items #42 and #43).

The Eventful History of the Mutiny was first published anonymously by John Murray in his popular Family History series. In the Preface, Barrow describes himself as *the Editor of this little volume* rather than the author. This was more than modesty on his part. Because Barrow was so closely identified with the Admiralty, any criticism of a senior official was bound to be taken as an official rebuke, whereas Barrow's purpose was to draw lessons *from which the naval service . . . in all its ranks* would benefit. Barrow's well-written and well-reasoned account went through several editions in his lifetime and has

been through many more since, the most recent in 1980. In 1914, Oxford University Press published it in its World Classics series.

15. WILSON, James, 1759 or 60–1814.

A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, Performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff, Commanded by Captain James Wilson. Compiled from Journals of the Officers and the Missionaries; and Illustrated with Maps, Charts, and Views, Drawn by Mr. William Wilson, and Engraved by the most Eminent Artists. With a Preliminary Discourse on the Geography and History of the South Sea Islands; And an Appendix, Including Details Never-before Published, of the Natural and Civil State of Otaheite; By a Committee Appointed for the Purpose by the Directors of the Missionary Society. Published for the Benefit of the Society.

London: Printed by S. Gosnell, For T. Chapman, No. 151, Fleet Street, 1799.
6 leaves, c, 395, [7] p., 13 leaves of plates, illus., maps (6 fold.). 29 cm.
"The body of the journal is the composition of Mr. William Wilson, from the Captain's papers, his own, and the Missionaries' reports." Bound in ¾ morocco, marbled end papers.
First edition.

The London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, had a primary goal of converting Polynesians to Christianity. It had attempted to place a group of 25 missionaries on Bligh's second breadfruit voyage, but after being denied they settled for the HMS *Duff* under the direction of Captain James Wilson.

The missionaries had their first exposure to Tahiti by reading Bligh's account in his *Voyage to the South Sea* (item #3). They learned the fundamentals of the Tahitian language from Peter Heywood's writings, who remained in Tahiti after the mutiny. Captain Wilson's work includes an account of the mutiny on the *Bounty* from the Tahitian perspective and a description of some of the children born to Tahitian women and the *Bounty* mutineers. Also included are details regarding ancient Tahitian culture and religion.

BYU owns a variant edition of the *Duff* voyage, printed in the same year for T. Chapman by T. Gillet, Salisbury-Square.

A

MISSIONARY VOYAGE

TO THE

SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN,

PERFORMED

IN THE YEARS 1796, 1797, 1798,

IN THE

SHIP DUFF,

COMMANDED BY

CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON.

COMPILED FROM

JOURNALS OF THE OFFICERS AND THE MISSIONARIES;

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

Maps, Charts, and Views,

Drawn by Mr. William Wilson, and engraved by the most eminent Artists.

WITH A

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

ON THE

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS;

AND AN

APPENDIX,

INCLUDING DETAILS NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED, OF THE

NATURAL AND CIVIL STATE OF OTAHEITE;

BY A COMMITTEE APPOINTED FOR THE PURPOSE BY THE DIRECTORS OF THE
MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SOCIETY.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. GOSNELL,

FOR T. CHAPMAN, N° 151, FLEET STREET.

1799.

Title page from Wilson's *A Missionary Voyage in the Ship Duff* (Item 15).

Mutineers on Pitcairn Island

16. DELANO, Amasa, 1763–1823.

A Narrative of Voyages and Travels, in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres: Comprising Three Voyages Round the World; Together with a Voyage of Survey and Discovery, in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental islands. By Amasa Delano.

Boston: Printed by E. G. House, for the Author, 1817.
598, [1] p., ports., fold. map. 21.5 cm.
Bound in full old calf, rubbed.
First edition.

The early history of Pitcairn Island is an intriguing tale of plots and murder. The *Bounty* fugitives and their descendants lived on this remote island in the Eastern Pacific for nearly two decades before the story of their fate reached the outside world. The accidental discovery of the mutineers' final haven on Pitcairn by Captain Mayhew Folger in the Boston sealer *Topaz* on February 6, 1808, added a new and romantic dimension to an already thrilling and controversial story. Folger was told of the colony's founding and the fate of the *Bounty* men by the only surviving mutineer, John Adams, alias Alexander Smith. Folger's account is preserved by Amasa Delano in this work.

Delano, of Duxbury, Massachusetts, had sailed in most parts of the world, including the Palau, Hawaiian, and Galapagos islands; Manila, Canton, and Macao; New Guinea, Australia, and the East Indies; and Chile and Peru. This narrative may have been written in collaboration with Horace Holley, who was probably the author of the appended biographical sketch of Delano (pp. 577–98).

The *Bounty*-related material in Delano's book is found in chapters 5 and 6. While at Timor, Delano found and copied a manuscript account by Captain Edwards of the voyage of the *Pandora*, part of which he reproduces here. He also gives a short version of Bligh's account with remarks based on his own experiences. Delano reprints an article from the February, 1810, issue of the *Quarterly Review*, in which Captain Folger announced the discovery of the mutineers, and reproduces Carteret's map noting Pitcairn Island with an account of that voyage. Delano, who knew Mayhew Folger, includes a letter from Folger to Delano about Pitcairn, along with notes of conversations with him.

A

NARRATIVE

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

IN THE

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN HEMISPHERES:

COMPRISING

THREE VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD;

TOGETHER WITH A

VOYAGE OF SURVEY AND DISCOVERY,

IN THE

PACIFIC OCEAN AND ORIENTAL ISLANDS.

.....

BY AMASA DELANO.

.....

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY E. G. HOUSE, FOR THE AUTHOR

1817.

Title page from Delano's *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (Item 16).

17. SHILLIBEER, John.

A Narrative of the Briton's Voyage to Pitcairn's Island. By Lieut. J. Shillibeer, R.M. Illustrated with Eighteen Etchings by the Author, from Drawings on the Spot.

Taunton, England: Printed for the Author by J. W. Marriot, and Published by Law and Whittaker, Ave. Maria Lane, London; and may be had of all booksellers in Town and Country, 1817.
[4], III, [1], 179, [2] p., [12] leaves of plates.
(Part folded), illus., ports. 21 cm.
Errata leaf following text.
Bound in ¾ calf, red marbled boards.
In the BYU copy, plates 15 and 16 are reversed.
First edition.

Following Captain Mayhew Folger's visit to Pitcairn in February, 1808, the next reported discovery of the mutineers' colony was by the captain of two British frigates, Sir Thomas Staines of the *Briton* and Philip Pipon of the *Tagus*. The two ships were searching for an American raider called the *Essex* during the War of 1812 when Staines came upon Pitcairn Island on September 17, 1814. Staines was astonished to be greeted by English-speaking natives and soon realized that he had discovered the island of the *Bounty* mutineers. Since Folger's earlier discovery of the mutineers was not widely known, Staines believed that he was the first to find the survivors of the *Bounty*.

Staines and Pipon went ashore and interviewed John Adams of the *Bounty*. John Shillibeer, First Lieutenant on the *Briton*, accompanied the captains to the island. His *Narrative* includes many details of the destiny of the *Bounty* mutineers given at that meeting. According to Shillibeer, Staines and Pipon offered the aging Adams the opportunity to sail back to England on his own free will, but Adams declined.

Etching of Fletcher Christian's son Friday. Christian first named his son "Thursday" but the young man later changed this to "Friday" when the Pitcairners discovered they were a day out in their calendar. From Shillibeer's *A Narrative of the Briton's Voyage to Pitcairn's Island* (Item 17).

A

NARRATIVE

OF

The Briton's Voyage,

TO

PITCAIRN'S ISLAND.

BY LIEUT. J. SHILLIBEER, R. M.

ILLUSTRATED WITH EIGHTEEN ETCHINGS BY THE AUTHOR,
FROM DRAWINGS ON THE SPOT.

Taunton:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY J. W. MARRIOTT,

And Published by Law and Whittaker, Ave Maria Lane, London; and may be had of all Booksellers in Town and Country.

1817.

Title page from Shillibeer's *A Narrative of the Briton's Voyage* (Item 17).

John Adams

John Adams, who signed on the *Bounty* as Alexander Smith, was the only mutineer to live until Pitcairn was rediscovered in 1808. He died in 1829. Engraving from Beechey's *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific* (Item 19).

18. "John Adams of Pitcairn's Island," in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 88, part 2, July–December 1818, p. 37.

The Admiralty and the English public had difficulty accepting the testimonial accounts of Mayhew Folger and John Shillibeer because no man by the name of John Adams had signed on board the *Bounty*. John Adams, however, mentioned to Shillibeer that he had a brother and sister in England. Upon investigation, the unnamed author of this short piece discovered that John Adams had actually signed the *Bounty* roster as Alexander Smith because he had recently deserted from another ship. This short article, dated November 4, 1818, solves the mystery of the only surviving mutineer on Pitcairn Island and clarifies Adams' part in the mutiny.

19. BEECHEY, Frederick William, 1796–1856.

Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait, to Co-operate with the Polar Expeditions: Performed in His Majesty's Ship Blossom, Under the Command of Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., and F.R.G.S. in the Years 1825, 26, 27, 28. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. In Two Parts.

London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, MDCCCXXXI [1831].

2 vol. (xxi, [xxiii], 742 p.), 25 leaves of plates, illus., maps. 27.5 cm.

Bound in ¾ green leather, gilt lettering, red spine labels.

First edition.

Frederick Beechey was sent to rendezvous with Captains Franklin and Parry and assist in the exploration of the northwest coast of North America in 1825. Near Point Barrow, Alaska, Beechey and Franklin had arrived within fifty leagues of each other when the latter was compelled by bad weather to change course. Although they failed to meet, both explored the coast extensively from Alaska to California.

Captain Beechey was also instructed by the Admiralty to obtain an official and accurate account of the destiny of the *Bounty* mutineers on Pitcairn Island. His extensive interviews with John Adams are considered to be the most reliable. While Beechey was on Pitcairn, Adams took the opportunity to ask the captain to marry him officially to his blind and ailing wife, Mary, who had born him his only son, George. John Barrow, among others, relied heavily on Beechey in writing his summary of the seizure of

the *Bounty* (item #14). If Barrow's work is the last chapter for the Admiralty on the *Bounty* mutiny, then Beechey's work must be considered the official investigation of the Admiralty into the lives of the mutineers. Beechey noted the population of Pitcairn was 66 at the time of his visit in December, 1825.

Beechey was the first to fully explore Pitcairn Island's community, past and present, and he describes an idyllic existence. According to Beechey, the Pitcairners were innocent and beautiful, golden children filled with a natural warmth and an unaffected Christianity. His *Narrative* is also valuable for its descriptions of the Tuamotu Archipelago, the Society Islands and Tahiti, Hawaii, Alaska, and the coast of California. It provides an important account of Monterey and San Francisco before the American conquest, including his impressions of the Jesuit missionaries in San Francisco.

There were three printings of Beechey's *Narrative* in 1831, attesting to its popularity. The first, displayed here, was a quarto edition in two volumes; the second was an octavo reprint. The third edition was a "new edition," which did not contain all of the scientific notes appended to the first edition.

20. BENNETT, Frederick Debell.

Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe, from the Year 1833 to 1836. Comprising Sketches of Polynesia, California, the Indian Archipelago, Etc. With an Account of Southern Whales, the Sperm Whale Fishery, and the Natural History of the Climates Visited. By Frederick Debell Bennett, Esq. F.R.G.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. In Two Volumes.

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty, 1840.

2 vol., fronts., illus., fold. map. 21 cm.

Bound in ¾ sprinkled calf.

First edition.

Frederick Bennett, a British scientist who studied the southern whales in order to assist England's whaling industry, also investigated Polynesian culture and collected rare plants and animals. In March, 1834, Bennett visited Pitcairn Island and left an account of the islanders and details concerning the fate of the mutineers. According to Bennett, patriarch John Adams had died at age 66 in March, 1829. Bennett also records meeting Jane, the daughter of Matthew Quintal, who had left the island with an English sailor and eventually settled on the island of Rurutu and married a native there.

NARRATIVE

OF A

WHALING VOYAGE

ROUND THE GLOBE,

FROM THE YEAR 1833 TO 1836.

COMPRISING SKETCHES OF

POLYNESIA, CALIFORNIA, THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,

ETC.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

SOUTHERN WHALES, THE SPERM WHALE FISHERY,

AND

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE CLIMATES VISITED.

BY

FREDERICK DEBELL BENNETT, Esq. F.R.G.S.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, LONDON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1840.

Title page from Bennett's *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage* (Item 20).

By 1831 the population on Pitcairn had increased to 87. The HM sloop *Comet*, commanded by Captain Sandilands, arrived at Pitcairn for the purpose of relocating the residents to Tahiti, if they so desired. The entire Pitcairn community was removed to Tahiti, but after only five months all but 17 returned to their beloved home. Again, in 1856, their numbers had increased and all were settled on Norfolk Island. Many, however, returned to their precious Pitcairn.

Bennett's account is important because it is the first recorded interview with Pitcairners after their unsuccessful Tahitian relocation. It also discusses the "revolution" in 1833 caused by an Englishman named Joshua Hill, who, uninvited, had claimed authority and established a controversial government that divided the island into two angry groups. Bennett's account of this revolution was the subject of Mark Twain's humorous short story "The Great Revolution in Pitcairn" (item #39).

Bennett's *Narrative* was considered by Herman Melville to be one of the best in regards to the whaling industry. Its lengthy Appendix (vol. 2, pp. 143–395) includes a list and illustrations of the flora and fauna encountered during the voyage.

21. SHIPLEY, Conway

Sketches in the Pacific. The South Sea Islands Drawn from Nature and on Stone. By Conway Shipley Esqe., Lieut. R.N.

London: Published by T. McLean, 1851. Printed at 70, St. Martin's Lane.
3 p. l., 18 l., 25 leaves of plates, illus. 42 cm.
Lacks plate 10, "The French bakery and storehouse in Tahiti."
Original decorated cloth, modern red morocco spine.
Front cover decorated with the title and the Shipley Arms within a gilt cartouche.
First edition.

Shipley's *Sketches* is one of the great illustrated books of the South Pacific. Conway Shipley, an English officer, sailed from Valparaiso, Chile, on the HMS *Calypso* in February, 1848. The first call was at Pitcairn Island, where they delivered a quantity of goods raised by public subscription, including two whale boats. Shipley made drawings of the Pitcairn schoolhouse and chapel, October Christian's house, and Bounty Bay. His drawings were transferred to steel engravings for this publication.

Shipley gives a useful description of the island and its inhabitants, including a note on the books in the island's library. He is charmed by this

View of Papeete Bay, Tahiti, from Shipley's *Sketches in the Pacific* (Item 21).

race of people in a *state of primitive innocence, obedient to a simple code of laws, and possessing all the advantages, uncontaminated by the faults or vices, of a highly-civilized community* (p. 7). On departure, the Pitcairners, hand-in-hand, *accompanied us to the beach, expressing their thanks and good wishes, and begging us to remember them kindly to the Queen* (p. 6).

22. BRODIE, Walter.

Pitcairn's Island, and the Islanders, in 1850. By Walter Brodie, Author of "The Past and Present State of New Zealand." Together with Extracts from his Private Journal, and a Few Hints upon California; Also, the Reports of All the Commanders of H.M. Ships that Have Touched at the Above Island Since 1800.

London: Whittaker & Co., Ave. Maria Lane, 1851.
1 p. l., [iii]–iv, [5]–260 p., illus., plates, 2 ports. (incl. front.). 20 cm.
Bound in original dark-green cloth, paper spine label.
First edition.

In March, 1850, Walter Brodie was stranded on Pitcairn after his ship *had been blown off the island during the night* (p. i). Brodie, accompanied by four other passengers, lived on Pitcairn for three weeks. His narrative is based in part on interviews with Arthur Quintal, son of mutineer Matthew Quintal. It details the lives and fates of the *Bounty* mutineers and provides insights into the mutiny itself.

In addition to a thorough history and an important geographical description of the island, Brodie gives a very detailed genealogy of the *Bounty* descendants and a valuable shipping record of vessels calling at the island from 1808 to 1850. According to Brodie, 322 vessels had visited Pitcairn during this period. The book also contains visitors' letters. Second and third editions appeared in the same year as the first, attesting to the book's popularity. Brodie's detailed account of the life and early history of the inhabitants of Pitcairn constitutes one of the main sources of Nordhoff and Hall's popular trilogy, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (items #42 and #43).

23. MURRAY, Thomas Boyles, 1798–1860.

Pitcairn: The Island, the People, and the Pastor. To Which Is Added a Short Notice of the Original Settlement and Present Condition of Norfolk Island. By the Late Rev. Thos. Boyles Murray, M.A. F.S.A. rector of St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. Published under the Direction of the Committee of General Literature and Education Appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, [1860].
xiv, [15]–414 p., [18] leaves of plates, illus., map, ports. 16 cm.
Ship vignette embossed on front cover.
Twelfth edition.

This is a detailed history of the *Bounty* and Pitcairn Island. Murray also gives an important early account of the relocation of the Pitcairn Islanders to Tahiti in 1831 and their relocation to Norfolk Island in 1856. He also records the current state of Norfolk Island and discusses its original settlement.

The Reverend Murray was Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This account is based largely on the experience of Rev. George H. Nobbs, who served as chaplain, missionary, teacher, and chief magistrate on Pitcairn from 1828 to 1852, with a few years spent in Tahiti and the Gambier Islands. It covers the voyage of the *Bounty*, the mutiny, Captain Bligh's voyage in the open boat, the voyage of the *Pandora*, the life and career of Peter Heywood, Nobbs's sojourn on Pitcairn, and the contemporary state of the community on Pitcairn. An important list of vessels which visited Pitcairn from 1808 to 1853 is included, as is the island register from 1790 to 1853.

According to Murray, Pitcairn Island was first sighted on July 2, 1767, by Robert Pitcairn, one of Captain Philip Carteret's midshipmen, whose father, Major Pitcairn, was killed in Boston at the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775. Carteret wrote that the island appeared uninhabited, due to the lack of a harbor. London editions of this work appeared in 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1877, and 1885. According to the Preface to this edition, about 30,000 copies of the work were printed between 1853 and 1860. A New York edition was published in 1854, and French editions were issued in 1853 and 1854.

PITCAIRN:

THE ISLAND, THE PEOPLE, AND THE PASTOR.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A SHORT NOTICE OF THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT
AND PRESENT CONDITION OF

NORFOLK ISLAND.

BY THE LATE

REV. THOS. BOYLES MURRAY, M.A. F.S.A.

RECTOR OF ST. DUNSTAN-IN-THE-EAST, LONDON,
AND PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE COMMITTEE OF GENERAL LITERATURE AND EDUCATION
APPOINTED BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.
SOLD AT THE DEPOSITORIES:
77 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS;
4 ROYAL EXCHANGE; 48 PICCADILLY;
AND BY ALL BOOKSELLERS

Title page from Murray's *Pitcairn* (Item 23).

THE

MUTINEERS OF THE BOUNTY

AND THEIR

DESCENDANTS IN

PITCAIRN AND NORFOLK ISLANDS.

By LADY BELCHER.

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NEW YORK:
HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
FRANKLIN SQUARE.
1871.

Title page from Lady Belcher's *The Mutineers of the Bounty* (Item 24).

24. BELCHER, Lady Diana (Jolliffe), 1805–1890.

The Mutineers of the Bounty and their Descendants in Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands. By Lady Belcher. With Map and Illustrations.

New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1871.
377, [1], 6 p., [1] leaf of plates, map, ports. 19 cm.

Lady Belcher was the stepdaughter of Peter Heywood, the condemned but pardoned mutineer and midshipman of the *Bounty*. Through inheritance she owned a variety of important private documents about the mutiny. This book contains the first publication of the journal of James Morrison, the *Bounty*'s boatswain's mate. Morrison was highly critical of Bligh's role in the mutiny.

The work is divided into two parts. Part 1 recounts the *Bounty* voyage, mutiny, and court-martial in considerable detail. Part 2 covers the history of Pitcairn to 1869.

Lady Belcher also possessed letters from Peter Heywood to his family and materials from James Wood, George H. Nobbs, Sir William Denison, Sir Wentworth Dilke, and Frederick Byng Montresor on the history of Pitcairn and Norfolk Island. These documents were published in an attempt to exculpate Heywood. The work also contains correspondence of Peter Heywood written during the court-martial of the mutineers in 1792.

25. HALE, Edward Everett, 1822–1909, editor.

Stories of the Sea Told by Sailors. By E. E. Hale.

Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1880.
302 p. 16.5 cm.
Original cloth and gilt stamping.
First edition.

Chapter 11 contains the account of Josiah N. Knowles, captain of the American clipper *Wild Wave*. The *Wild Wave* was wrecked at Oeno, a tiny, low-lying island about 80 miles north of Pitcairn Island, on March 5, 1858. Captain Knowles, in hopes of finding passage for himself and his passengers, sailed with six others in a launch to Pitcairn. Upon arrival they found the island uninhabited: *To our great astonishment we learned that the former residents had all left for Norfolk Island. Notices to that effect were posted in many of the houses* (p. 202).

At this time the inhabitants of Pitcairn were on Norfolk Island under orders from England, because it was feared that Pitcairn was too small for

its growing population. Some Pitcairners returned after only one year, but Knowles' stay on the island until July 23, 1858, was not long enough to encounter them. The *Wild Wave* crew eventually sailed in a boat they named the *John Adams* to the Marquesas Islands. This chapter also provides a short account of the *Bounty* story and the early landings on Pitcairn of Mayhew Folger and Thomas Staines.

26. YOUNG, Rosalind Amelia, d. 1924.

Mutiny of the Bounty & the Story of Pitcairn Island 1790–1894. By Rosalind Amelia Young, a Native Daughter. Third Edition–Illustrated.

Oakland, Cal.: Pacific Press Publishing Company, [c1894].
xi, 266 p., illus., ports. 18 cm.
Introduction by E. H. Gates.
Original cloth and gilt stamping.

The author was a great granddaughter of John Adams, the last survivor of the mutineers of the *Bounty*. She spent nearly her entire life on Pitcairn, except for a few years during the colony's relocation on Norfolk Island. Rosalind Young was the first Pitcairner to write a history of the mutiny and its aftermath.

Miss Young was the primary school teacher on Pitcairn at the time of writing. The population at this time was 136, the majority of whom were children under the age of 16. She includes the reminiscences of Eliza, a daughter of mutineer John Mills, who was then 93 years old.

This edition includes an 11-page appendix in which the author responded to an inquiry from the *New York World* by describing conditions on the island and relating further details regarding its people and living conditions. The first edition, also published in 1894, lacked the appendix contained in this third issue.

27. O'BRIEN, Frederick, 1869–1932.

Atolls of the Sun.

New York: Century Co., 1922.
9 p. l., 3–508 p. front., plates, map. 23 cm.
Plates printed on both sides.
Original cloth.
First American edition.

Atolls of the Sun is one of a spate of post-World War I *through-the-South-Seas-with-rod-and-camera* books. O'Brien records his South Pacific experiences *dwelling with savage and singular races among the wonderful lagoons of the coral atolls, and poignant valleys of disregarded islands* (p. 1). Some of his encounters are with Protestant, LDS, and Seventh-Day Adventist missionaries who lived on the islands in the early 1900s.

Of interest is a description in chapter 8 of the *Bounty* mutiny by Mayhew December Christian, a direct descendant of Fletcher Christian. This account, heard secondhand from a Seventh-Day Adventist missionary, is interesting but unreliable. As might be expected, it is highly favorable to the mutineers.

View of Tahiti from Bennett's *A Narrative of a Whaling Voyage* (Item 20).

Bligh's Naval Career

28. HAWKESWORTH, John, 1715–1773.

An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of His Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour: drawn up from the journals which were kept by several commanders, and from the papers of Joseph Banks, esq.

London: Printed for W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1773.

3 vol. 4to. p.: 20, xxxvi, 4, 456; xiv, 410; 395; 52 maps and plates. 30 cm.

Pp. 140–360 in vol. 1 omitted in numbering; vols. 2–3 paged continuously.

Original tree calf, gilt, rebacked, red and black labels.

Cook's First Voyage printed on spine label.

First edition.

Hawkesworth's *Voyages* contains the first edition of the official account of James Cook's first voyage. The famous accounts of Captain Cook's three voyages form the basis for any collection of Pacific books. In these voyages Cook did more to clarify the geographical knowledge of the southern hemisphere than all his predecessors. He was the first truly scientific navigator and his voyages made tremendous contributions to many fields of knowledge.

Hawkesworth's account describes eighteenth-century English exploration in the South Seas. He covers not only Cook's first voyage but also accounts of the voyages of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, which include narratives of the discovery of Tahiti and Pitcairn Island. One may note that the location of Pitcairn Island in the map of Carteret's voyage is several degrees in error. It is conjectured that Fletcher Christian knew this and deliberately chose an island of which the Admiralty had no accurate record.

The purpose of Cook's first expedition was to determine the earth's distance from the sun by observing the Transit of Venus. The *Endeavour* arrived in Tahiti in April, 1769, to conduct its observations. Naturalist Joseph Banks's botanical studies on Tahiti were of great use for later expeditions, such as the *Bounty*'s. When the expedition returned to England in 1771, Cook and Banks were highly praised. Cook had charted nearly 5,000 miles of coastline and Banks had made many valuable discoveries and observations. Cook commanded two additional Pacific voyages. Knighted, Sir Joseph Banks was later elected President of the Royal Society and served in that position for 42 years. It was Banks, a lifelong friend and supporter of Bligh, who urged the Admiralty to appoint Bligh captain of the *Bounty*.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

VOYAGES

UNDERTAKEN BY THE

ORDER OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY

FOR MAKING

Diſcoveries in the Southern Hemiſphere,

And ſucceſſively performed by

COMMODORE BYRON, CAPTAIN WALLIS, CAPTAIN CARTERET, And CAPTAIN COOK,

In the DOLPHIN, the SWALLOW, and the ENDEAVOUR:

DRAWN UP

From the JOURNALS which were kept by the ſeveral COMMANDERS,
And from the Papers of JOSEPH BANKS, Eſq;

By JOHN HAWKESWORTH, LL.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Illuſtrated with CUTS, and a great Variety of CHARTS and MAPS relative to Countries now firſt diſcovered, or hitherto but imperfectly known.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL in the Strand.
M DCC LXXIII.

Title page from volume 1 of Hawkesworth's 1773 account of Cook and other famous eighteenth-century English navigators (Item 28).

29. BANKS, Sir Joseph, 1743–1820.

The Journal of Joseph Banks in the Endeavour, with a commentary by A. M. Lysaght.

Guildford, Surrey, England: Genesis Publications Limited, in association with Rigby limited, Adelaide, 1980.

2 vol., illus., ports. 25 cm.

Morocco spine label, cased.

Edition limited to 500 copies; BYU's copy is number 31.

A complete facsimile of Banks's private journal of his voyage with James Cook in HMS *Endeavour*, from the original manuscript held by the Mitchell Library in Sydney, Australia. Joseph Banks was an English naturalist who inspired and organized several scientific expeditions. In 1767 the Royal Society persuaded the British government to dispatch a scientific expedition to the South Seas to observe the Transit of Venus across the face of the sun in 1769. At his own expense, Banks hired the scientific staff and bought the scientific equipment for Captain Cook's first voyage in the *Endeavour*, 1768 to 1771. It was Banks who named Botany Bay.

Joseph Banks was born into a family of considerable wealth and distinction. He pursued botanical studies at Eton and Oxford, and in 1766, two years after leaving Christ Church, sailed to Newfoundland on HMS *Niger*. This nine-month voyage, during which Banks collected plant and animal specimens, was a remarkable apprenticeship for his three-year voyage in the *Endeavour*, which began only 18 months after his return to England. In 1778, as President of the Royal Society, Banks recommended William Bligh as captain of the *Bounty*. He was also influential in later furthering Bligh's naval career. The Banks Islands in the New Hebrides were named by Bligh in honor of his patron.

30. COOK, James, 1728–1779.

A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Undertaken, by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. To Determine the Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed Under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Discovery. In the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. and II. Written by Captain James Cook, F.R.S. Vol. III. by Captain James King, LL.D. and F.R.S. Illustrated with Maps and Charts, from the Original Drawings made by Lieut. Henry Roberts, under the Direction of Captain Cook; and with a great Variety of Portraits of Persons, Views of Places and Historical Representations of Remarkable Incidents, drawn by Mr. Webber during the Voyage, and engraved by the most eminent Artists. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

London: Printed by W. and A. Strahan For G. Nicol, Bookseller to His Majesty, in the Strand; and T. Cadell, in the Strand, MDCCLXXXIV [1784].

3 vol., plates (part fold.), maps (part fold.). 28 cm. and Atlas 57 cm.

This work was taken from Cook's journals, with James King continuing the narrative after Cook's death in Hawaii in 1779. Eagerly awaited, the book was published in June, 1784. It sold out within days and demand was so great that copies were soon changing hands at up to 10 times the original price.

> *. . . the voyage we are now relating, is distinguished, above all the rest, by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he [Cook] discovered, to the North of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii]; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence, in the system of European navigation, than any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterward explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the Western coast of America, from the latitude of 43 degrees to 70 degrees North, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of Northern latitude, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage, in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean,*

either by an Eastern or a Western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur, and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe. (James King, vol. 3, pp. 50–51)

Bligh, Burney, Colnett, Vancouver and Riou—all later to command important voyages of their own—served as officers on the expedition, which set out to return Omai (the native picked up on Cook's first voyage) to Tahiti and to search for a northwest passage. They called at Kerguelen Island; Tasmania; the Cook, Tonga and Society islands; turned north and discovered Christmas Island and the Hawaiian Islands; and went on to chart the northwest coast of America from Northern California to Alaska, where they were stopped by pack ice.

William Bligh was the sailing Master of the *Resolution* on Cook's third voyage, which touched Adventure Bay in Tasmania in 1777. As commander of the *Bounty* bound for Tahiti, he would again visit Australia 11 years later. Bligh was of great use to Cook. Bligh assisted in the production of the maps and charts and became so proficient that Cook gave him responsibility for drawing most of the charts. Cook also used Bligh to make the soundings off Hawaii, and according to this account, Bligh was the first officer to set foot on Hawaii. Cook considered the Hawaiian Islands his greatest discovery.

Charles Clerke assumed command after Cook's death, but six months later died himself. After Clerke's death, the ships returned to England under John Gore. It was during this period that Bligh's navigation skills were heavily relied upon. Expertise and confidence gained during this leg of the journey would serve him well in the aftermath of the *Bounty* mutiny.

1776. July.

RESOLUTION.			DISCOVERY.	
Officers and Men.	N°	*Officers Names.*	N°	*Officers Names.*
Captain, - -	1	James Cook. -	1	Charles Clerke.
Lieutenants, - -	3	John Gore. -	2	James Burney.
		James King. -		John Rickman.
		John Williamſon.		
Maſter, - -	1	William Bligh. -	1	Thomas Edgar.
Boatſwain, - -	1	William Ewin. -	1	Eneas Atkins.
Carpenter, - -	1	James Clevely. -	1	Peter Reynolds.
Gunner, - -	1	Robert Anderſon.	1	William Peckover.
Surgeon, - -	1	William Anderſon.	1	John Law.
Maſter's Mates, -	3	- - -	2	
Midſhipmen, -	6	- - -	4	
Surgeon's Mates, -	2	- - -	2	
Captain's Clerk, -	1	- - -	1	
Maſter at Arms, -	1	- - -	1	
Corporal, - -	1			
Armourer, - -	1	- - -	1	
Ditto Mate, - -	1	- - -	1	
Sail Maker, - -	1	- - -	1	
Ditto Mate, - -	1	- - -	1	
Boatſwain's Mates,	3	- - -	2	
Carpenter's Ditto,	3	- - -	2	
Gunner's Ditto, -	2	- - -	1	
Carpenter's Crew,	4	- - -	4	
Cook, - -	1	- - -	1	
Ditto Mate, - -	1			
Quarter Maſters, -	6	- - -	4	
Able Seamen, - -	45	- - -	33	
		Marines.		
Lieutenant, - -	1	Moleſworth Philips.		
Serjeant, - -	1	- - -	1	
Corporals, - -	2	- - -	1	
Drummer, - -	1	- - -	1	
Private, - -	15	- - -	8	
Total,	112		80	

C 2

Roster of men on Cook's third voyage, on which Bligh (listed fifth in the middle column above) served as Master of the *Resolution*. From Cook's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (Item 30).

31. BLIGH, William, 1754–1817.

The Log of H.M.S. Providence, 1791–1793.

Guildford, Surrey, England: Genesis Publications Limited, 1976.
951 p., illus., 5 fold. maps. 34 cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
Bound in ¾ modern calf, title printed on maroon.
Morocco spine label, cased.
Preface by the Earl Mountbatten of Burma.
"The reproduction has been made from the documents referenced ADM 55/152 and ADM 55/153 which are kept in two volumes at the Public Record Office, London."
Edition limited to 500 copies; BYU's copy is number 31.

The second facsimile in Genesis Publications' series of Bligh-related works, this volume contains Bligh's manuscript log of his successful second breadfruit voyage, from August 3, 1791, to August 7, 1793. The work reproduces the *Providence*'s log for the first time, together with all correspondence leading up to the first breadfruit voyage, and articles on Bligh by D. G. C. Allen and Stephen Walters, with notes on the breadfruit tree by David Bellamy. It also includes a facsimile of John Ellis's monograph, *A Description of the Mangosteen and the Breadfruit* (London, 1775), which first suggested the possibilities of transplanting the tree to the West Indies.

Bligh returned home from the *Bounty* mutiny to a hero's welcome in March, 1790. The public was sympathetic and full of admiration for his skill and endurance. In June his *Narrative* (item #1) of the mutiny and voyage in the open boat was published. Following full exoneration for the loss of the *Bounty* and rapid advancement to Post Captain, Bligh was selected for a second breadfruit voyage to undertake the mission for which the *Bounty* was originally fitted out.

Bligh was given the captaincy of the HMS *Providence* and was assisted by well-qualified commissioned junior officers, including his cousin Godolphin Bond and young Matthew Flinders. The accompanying ship, aptly named the *Assistant*, was commanded by Nathanial Portlock, who had been the Master's mate on Cook's third voyage.

The *Providence* voyage was an unqualified success, recognized as such not only by the Royal Society of Arts but by the Jamaican House Assembly, which rewarded Bligh with 1,000 guineas. As a result of the French declaration of war in March, 1793, the *Providence* was requisitioned by the Royal Navy, with instructions to apprehend any French ships in the area. For four months Bligh and Portlock engaged in preventive duties and detained a small number

of enemy ships. In June the ships sailed in convoy to England, arriving at Deptford on August 7, 1793.

This time the reception that awaited Bligh was not as enthusiastic. Despite the success of the *Providence* voyage, public opinion regarding his role in the *Bounty* mutiny had turned against him. During his lifetime it would never turn back.

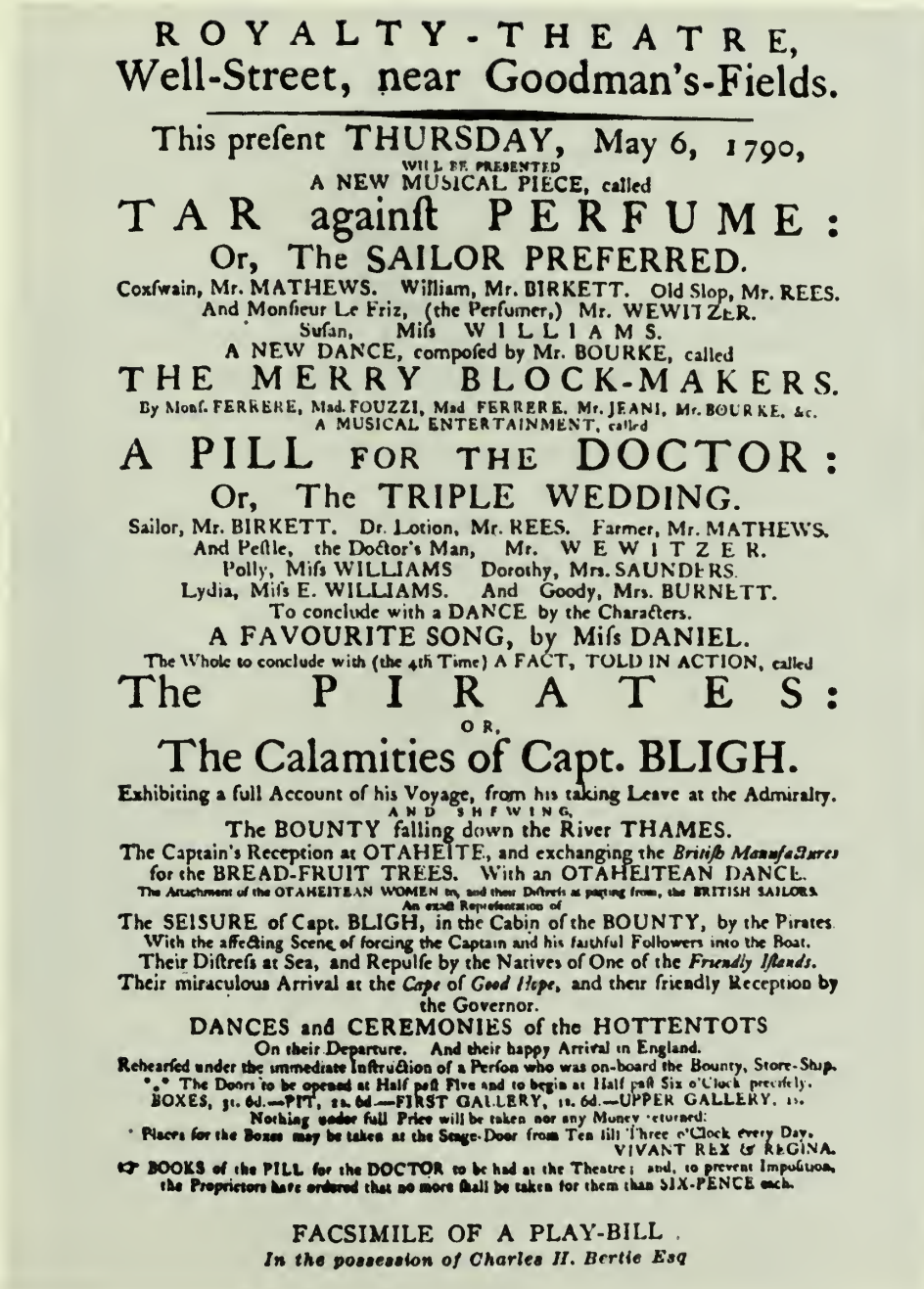
32. JOHNSTON, George.

A Charge of Mutiny. The Court Martial of Lieutenant Colonel George Johnston for Deposing Governor William Bligh in the Rebellion of 26 January 1808. Introduced by John Ritchie.

Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1988.
xxi, 490 p., [2] leaves of plates. 23.5 cm.
Original title page.
"Text from the 1811 original edition of *Proceedings of A General Court Martial* has been used for this reprint."
In dust jacket.

Following the *Bounty* mutiny and his return to England, Bligh successfully completed a second breadfruit voyage aboard the *Providence* in 1793 (see item #31). Although snubbed for his part in the *Bounty* mutiny, he continued in naval service. As commander of the 64-gun *Director*, Bligh was involved, with several other captains, in the mutiny of the *Nore* in 1797. This time the grievances of the striking seamen were settled and Bligh was not relieved of command. He took his ship into the Battle of Camperdown in October, 1797, and fought valiantly against the Dutch flagship. Bligh's greatest success came when, as captain of the HMS *Glaton* at the Battle of Copenhagen on April 2, 1801, he was commended by Admiral Lord Nelson. Bligh was made a fellow of the Royal Society only a month later.

Bligh's second deposition by mutineers came in January, 1808, as fourth governor of the penal colony of New South Wales in Australia. Bligh, who was assisted in the appointment by his old friend and supporter Sir Joseph Banks, had been installed as governor in August, 1806. Charged with putting down corruption by the notorious Rum Corps, he was arrested in January, 1808, by officers of that volunteer regiment but remained in the colony until April, 1810. Following a full vindication, his naval rank was restored and he was promptly promoted to Rear Admiral. In 1817, at the age of 64, leaving behind six daughters, Bligh died peacefully in bed as a British Vice Admiral.



ROYALTY-THEATRE,
Well-Street, near Goodman's-Fields.

This preſent THURSDAY, May 6, 1790,
WILL BE PRESENTED
A NEW MUSICAL PIECE, called
TAR againſt PERFUME:
Or, The SAILOR PREFERRED.
Coxſwain, Mr. MATHEWS. William, Mr. BIRKETT. Old Slop, Mr. REES.
And Monſieur Le Friz, (the Perfumer,) Mr. WEWITZER.
Suſan, Miſs WILLIAMS.
A NEW DANCE, compoſed by Mr. BOURKE, called
THE MERRY BLOCK-MAKERS.
By Monſ. FERRERE, Mad. FOUZZI, Mad FERRERE, Mr. JEANI, Mr. BOURKE, &c.
A MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT, called
A PILL FOR THE DOCTOR:
Or, The TRIPLE WEDDING.
Sailor, Mr. BIRKETT. Dr. Lotion, Mr. REES. Farmer, Mr. MATHEWS.
And Peſtle, the Doctor's Man, Mr. WEWITZER.
Polly, Miſs WILLIAMS Dorothy, Mrs. SAUNDERS.
Lydia, Miſs E. WILLIAMS. And Goody, Mrs. BURNETT.
To conclude with a DANCE by the Characters.
A FAVOURITE SONG, by Miſs DANIEL.
The Whole to conclude with (the 4th Time) A FACT, TOLD IN ACTION, called
The PIRATES:
OR,
The Calamities of Capt. BLIGH.
Exhibiting a full Account of his Voyage, from his taking Leave at the Admiralty.
AND SHEWING,
The BOUNTY falling down the River THAMES.
The Captain's Reception at OTAHEITE, and exchanging the *Britiſh Manufactures*
for the BREAD-FRUIT TREES. With an OTAHEITEAN DANCE.
The Attachment of the OTAHEITEAN WOMEN to, and their Diſtreſs at parting from, the BRITISH SAILORS.
An exact Repreſentation of
The SEISURE of Capt. BLIGH, in the Cabin of the BOUNTY, by the Pirates.
With the affecting Scene of forcing the Captain and his faithful Followers into the Boat.
Their Diſtreſs at Sea, and Repulſe by the Natives of One of the *Friendly Iſlands*.
Their miraculous Arrival at the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, and their friendly Reception by
the Governor.
DANCES and CEREMONIES of the HOTTENTOTS
On their Departure. And their happy Arrival in England.
Rehearſed under the immediate Inſtruction of a Perſon who was on-board the Bounty, Store-Ship.
. The Doors to be opened at Half paſt Five and to begin at Half paſt Six o'Clock preciſely.
BOXES, 5s. 6d.—PIT, 2s. 6d.—FIRST GALLERY, 1s. 6d.—UPPER GALLERY, 1s.
Nothing under full Price will be taken nor any Money returned.
Places for the Boxes may be taken at the Stage-Door from Ten till Three o'Clock every Day.
VIVANT REX & REGINA.
☞ BOOKS of the PILL for the DOCTOR to be had at the Theatre; and, to prevent Impoſition,
the Proprietors have ordered that no more ſhall be taken for them than SIX-PENCE each.

FACSIMILE OF A PLAY-BILL.
In the poſſeſſion of Charles II. Bertie Eſq

Playbill of the Royalty Theatre's 1790 production of *The Pirates: Or, The Calamities of Capt. Bligh*, indicative of the sensationalism surrounding the *Bounty* story. From Mackaness's *The Life of Vice-Admiral William Bligh* (Item 33).

33. MACKANESS, George, 1882–1968.

The Life of Vice-Admiral William Bligh R.N., F.R.S. By George Mackaness, Litt. D. Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson limited, 1931.

2 vol. fronts., plates (1 double), ports., maps (part-fold.), facsims. 24 cm.
Bibliography: vol. 2, pp. [351]–75.
Original cloth.
First edition.

George Mackaness's in-depth study of Bligh's life and career, although meant for popular appeal, is considered by *Bounty* researchers to be the least biased and most comprehensive twentieth-century biography of William Bligh. The work treats Bligh in a highly credible manner and its coverage of the mutiny and the mutineers is equally well founded. The book is favorable to Bligh, though never to the point of praise.

Mackaness extensively documents his research and sources. He includes many documents discovered while researching Bligh that were previously unpublished. Letters from Bligh to his wife and daughters throughout his life are of special interest.

Mackaness begins the account by discussing Bligh's family background and early childhood, followed by Bligh's early naval service. A detailed chapter is spent on Captain Cook and Bligh's performance under Cook's command. The period between Bligh's voyage with Cook and his appointment as captain of the *Bounty* is covered in several short chapters. Mackaness then devotes several chapters to the *Bounty* voyage. He discusses the voyage to Tahiti, life on Tahiti, and the ensuant mutiny. He concentrates on the causes of the mutiny, from both the mutineers' and Bligh's vantage points. A chapter relates the launch voyage to Timor made by Bligh and 18 other men; another two chapters detail the fate of the mutineers in Tahiti before the arrival of the *Pandora*.

Two chapters are dedicated to the *Pandora* voyage and the court-martial in 1792 of the apprehended *Bounty* mutineers. From this point Mackaness departs from the events of the mutiny to follow Bligh's remaining life. Of special interest is the work's account of the rebellion of the *Nore* in 1797 and the Rum Rebellion in New South Wales in 1808 (see item #32).

Literary Works Based on the *Bounty* Story

34. *The Letters of Fletcher Christian.*
Guildford, Surrey, England: Genesis Publications Limited, 1984.
[6], xxxi, [10], 6–188 p., [2] leaves of col. plates, illus. 24 cm.
Bound in ¾ black leather, decorations on spine.
Title printed on red morocco spine label, gilt edges, cased.
Edition limited to 350 copies; BYU's copy is number 31.

Reprint. Originally issued: *Letters from Mr. Fletcher Christian, Containing a narrative of the transactions on board His Majesty's Ship Bounty, before and after the mutiny, with his subsequent voyages in South America.* London: Printed for the proprietor, and published by H. D. Symonds, No. 20, Paternoster Row, 1796.

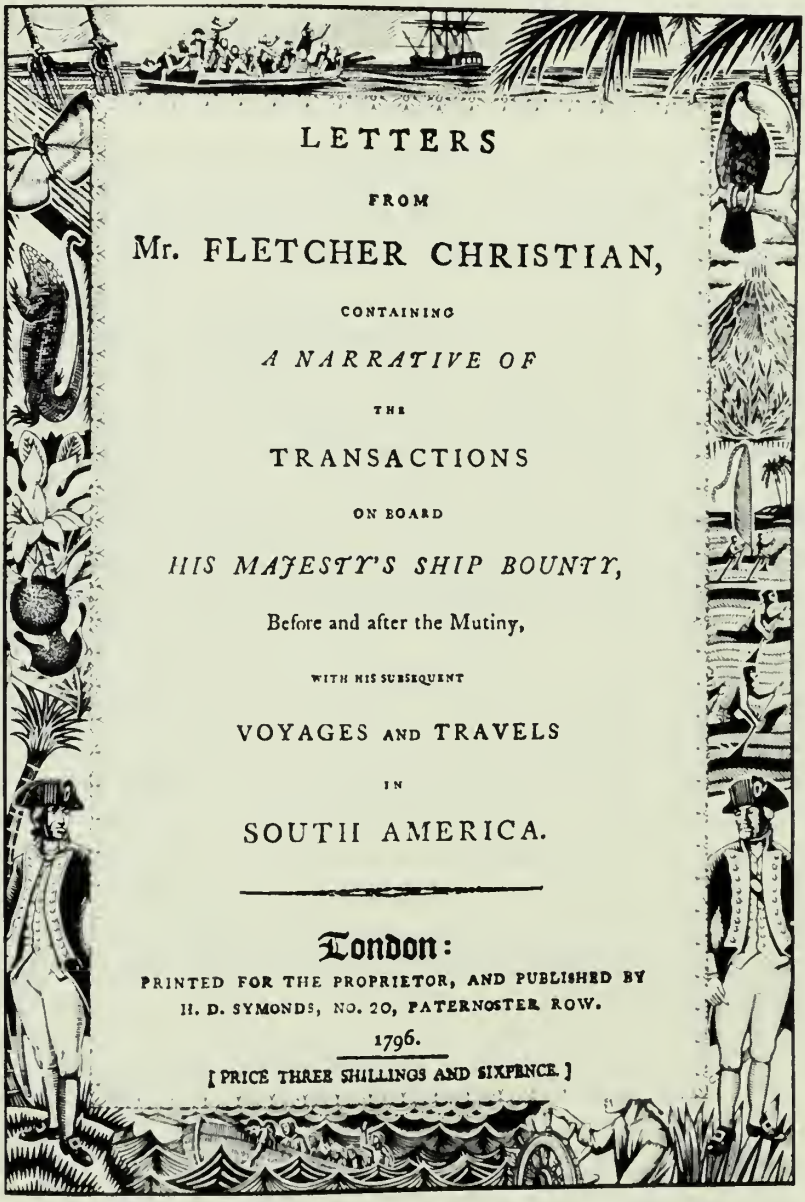
The *Letters* of Fletcher Christian are dismissed by *Bounty* scholars as fictitious. Evidence indicates that Fletcher Christian was killed on Pitcairn during an uprising by the Tahitian men in 1793. These letters, first published in 1796 and supposedly written by Christian, assert that he left Pitcairn on the *Bounty* and participated in numerous South Sea adventures.

The English public, hungry for more titillating information about the notorious *Bounty* mutineer, was fed by this work with the possibility of Fletcher Christian's escape. On September 13, 1796, *The True Briton* ran a story about a pamphlet it had received allegedly from Christian. According to the pamphlet, after the mutiny Christian had visited Juan Fernandes and other islands off the west coast of South America before being shipwrecked while rescuing one Don Henrigues, *Major-General of Chili* [*sic*]. Suitably grateful, the Spanish government employed Fletcher Christian, who was shortly to sail from Cadiz to South America on its behalf. *The True Briton* reported that Christian's *Letters* had been published in Cadiz.

Extracts of the *Letters* appeared in many magazines and newspapers until H. D. Symonds issued the complete collection, reproduced here. A copy of the 1796 edition was sent to William Bligh by his publisher, George Nicol. Bligh, still smarting from the attack by Fletcher's brother Edward, wrote to Sir Joseph Banks:

> *Mr. Nicol has been so good as to send me down a pamphlet called Christian's letters—it is possible that wretch can be at Cadiz and that he has had intercourse with his Brother, that six penny Professor, who has more Law about him than honour—My Dear Sir, I can only say that I heartily despise that praise of any of the family of Christian, and I hope and trust yet that the mutineer will meet with his deserts.* (P. xxii)

Christian's *Letters* were discounted as spurious by many sources, including William Wordsworth, a friend of Edward Christian. Only two years later the same letters were printed in a new illustrated edition entitled *The Voyages and Travels of Fletcher Christian* (London: H. Lemoine, 1798).



LETTERS

FROM

Mr. FLETCHER CHRISTIAN,

CONTAINING

A NARRATIVE OF

THE

TRANSACTIONS

ON BOARD

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP BOUNTY,

Before and after the Mutiny,

WITH HIS SUBSEQUENT

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN

SOUTH AMERICA.

London:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETOR, AND PUBLISHED BY
H. D. SYMONDS, NO. 20, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1796.

[PRICE THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.]

Facsimile edition title page from the spurious *The Letters of Fletcher Christian* (Item 34).

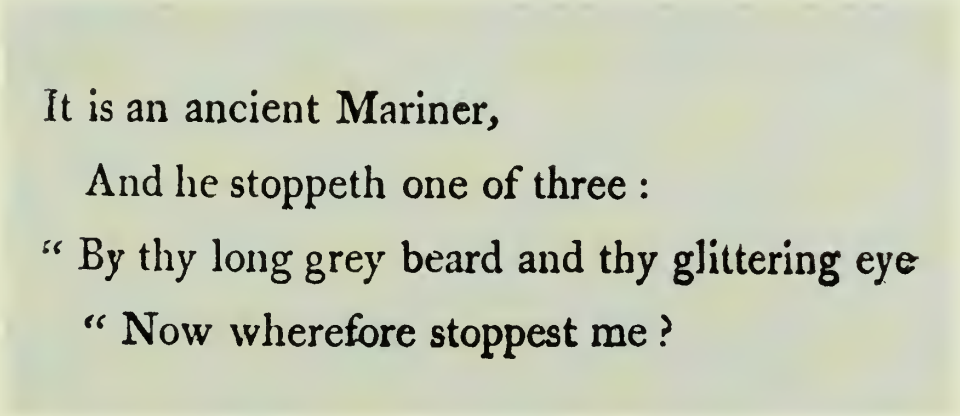
35. COLERIDGE, Samuel Taylor, 1772–1834.

"The Ancient Mariner. A Poet's Reverie," in *Lyrical Ballads, with Other Poems.* In Two Volumes. By W. Wordsworth. London: Printed for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster-Row, By Biggs and Co., Bristol, 1800.

2 vol. 16 cm.
Full calf with black leather spine.
Second edition with first appearance of the Preface.

Bounty scholar C. S. Wilkinson theorizes in *The Wake of the Bounty* (London: Cassell, 1953) that Fletcher Christian escaped from Pitcairn and returned to England. He further conjectures that through William Wordsworth, a friend of the Christian family, Samuel Coleridge was inspired to write "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." The hero of this famous poem is a doomed rebel who voyages in the South Seas and is the only man of his crew to return home. Coleridge's poem appeared in the first edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, published in 1798.

The inspirational source of the "Ancient Mariner," however, is more convincingly traced to George Shelvocke's *A Voyage Around the World by Way of the Great South Sea* (London: J. Senex, 1762). While attempting to round Cape Horn amid a succession of contrary gales, the crew sighted a black albatross. Simon Hatley, Shelvocke's second captain, shot the albatross, thinking it was an ill omen. Wordsworth suggested to Coleridge in 1797, when they were discussing the poem, that the mariner's crime might be Hatley's act in Shelvocke's book, which Wordsworth had been reading a day or two before.


It is an ancient Mariner,
And he stoppeth one of three :
" By thy long grey beard and thy glittering eye
" Now wherefore stoppest me ?

The first stanza from Samuel Coleridge's poem,
"The Ancient Mariner," from *Lyrical Ballads* (Item 35).

THE ISLAND,

OR

CHRISTIAN AND HIS COMRADES.

BY THE

RIGHT HON. LORD BYRON.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON, 1823:

PRINTED FOR JOHN HUNT,

22, OLD BOND STREET.

Title page from Lord Byron's poem *The Island* (Item 36).

36. BYRON, George Gordon, Baron, 1788–1824.

The Island, or Christian and His Comrades. By the Right Hon. Lord Byron. Second Edition.

London: Printed for John Hunt, 22 Old Bond Street, 1823.
94, [2] p. 22 cm.
"Appendix: Extract from the Voyage by Captain Bligh," pp. [81]–94.
Full calf with original gilt stamping.

Fletcher Christian, the ideal of Romantic rebellion, is the hero of this long narrative poem by Lord Byron. Composed in four cantos, *The Island* stresses the idyllic existence of the *Bounty* seamen on Tahiti. Besides relying heavily on Bligh's descriptions of Tahiti, Byron also drew on Will Mariner's *An Account of the Natives of Tonga* (London: J. Murray, 1816). This edition follows closely the first, also published in 1823.

37. BRYANT, William Cullen, 1794–1878.

"A Song of Pitcairn's Island," in *Poems by William Cullen Bryant*, pp. 46–48.

New York: Published by E. Bliss, III, Broadway, and Sold by the Principal Booksellers, M.DCCC.XXXII [1832].
240 p. 19 cm.
Original boards with cloth spine, paper label.
First edition.

William Cullen Bryant's short poem emphasizes the peaceful and religious serenity found on Pitcairn Island and represents the romantic mystique surrounding the island in the early 1800s.

A SONG OF PITCAIRN'S ISLAND.

Come, take our boy, and we will go
  Before our cabin door;
The winds shall bring us, as they blow,
  The murmurs of the shore;
And we will kiss his young blue eyes,
And I will sing him, as he lies,
  Songs that were made of yore:
I'll sing, in his delighted ear,
The island lays thou lov'st to hear.

And thou, while stammering I repeat,
  Thy country's tongue shalt teach;
'Tis not so soft, but far more sweet,
  Than my own native speech:
For thou no other tongue did'st know,
When, scarcely twenty moons ago,
  Upon Tahete's beach,

Thou cam'st, to woo me to be thine,
With many a speaking look and sign.

I knew thy meaning—thou didst praise
My eyes, my locks of jet;
Ah! well for me they won thy gaze,—
But thine were fairer yet!
I'm glad to see my infant wear
Thy soft blue eyes and sunny hair,
And when my sight is met
By his white brow and blooming cheek,
I feel a joy I cannot speak.

Come talk of Europe's maids with me,
Whose necks and cheeks, they tell,
Outshine the beauty of the sea,
White foam and crimson shell.
I'll shape like theirs my simple dress,
And bind like them each jetty tress,
A sight to please thee well:
And for my dusky brow will braid
A bonnet like an English maid.

Come, for the soft, low sunlight calls,
We lose the pleasant hours;
'Tis lovelier than these cottage walls,—
That seat among the flowers.

First two pages from William Cullen Bryant's poem "A Song of Pitcairn's Island" (Item 37).

38. BALLANTYNE, Robert Michael, 1825–1894.

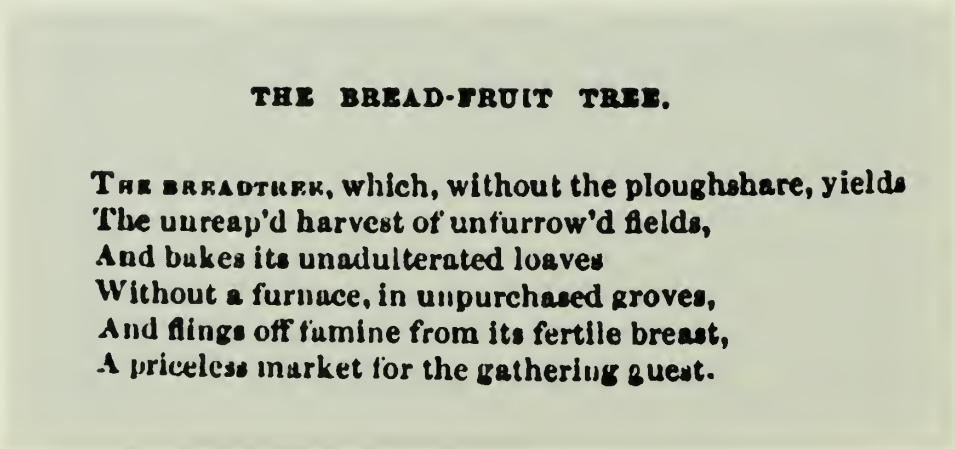
The Lonely Island, or the Refuge of the Mutineers. By R. M. Ballantyne, with Illustrations.

London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street, 1880.
4 p. l., [v]–vi, [1], 413, [3], 2–16 p. front., illus. 18 cm.
Original red decorated cloth.
First edition.

R. M. Ballantyne was a prolific Scottish novelist whose fictional adventure tales opened for English boys of the late Victorian age an exciting vista of a world spiced with romance and danger. Ballantyne wrote more than 100 books. Among his most popular works was *The Coral Island: A Tale of the Pacific Ocean* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1857), which established him as one of the foremost writers of adventure fiction.

The Lonely Island focuses on the colonization of Pitcairn Island. Fletcher Christian is the main character until about halfway through the novel, when he is murdered. Thereafter the plot centers on John Adams.

Ballantyne's weakness as a writer lay in his strait-jacketed puritanism. Unlike Robert L. Stevenson, he was unable to give his readers a romantic and exciting story that was not laced through with moralizing. Too often the action in his tales slows to a halt while his young hero falls to his knees for a stint of evangelistic soliloquizing. Ballantyne never visited the South Seas and eventually gave up writing about the region because of criticism over errors in his books. He once wrote, for example, that coconuts grew without husks.



THE BREAD-FRUIT TREE.

THE BREADTREE, which, without the ploughshare, yields
The unreap'd harvest of unfurrow'd fields,
And bakes its unadulterated loaves
Without a furnace, in unpurchased groves,
And flings off famine from its fertile breast,
A priceless market for the gathering guest.

Poem about breadfruit from Murray's *Pitcairn* (Item 23).

THE

STOLEN WHITE ELEPHANT

ETC.

BY MARK TWAIN

BOSTON

JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY

1882

Title page from Mark Twain's *The Stolen White Elephant, Etc.*, a book of short stories which includes "The Great Revolution in Pitcairn" (Item 39).

39. CLEMENS, Samuel Langhorne, 1835–1910.

"The Great Revolution in Pitcairn," in *The Stolen White Elephant, Etc.* By Mark Twain, pp. 189–205.

Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882.
306, 12 p. 17 cm.
Original cloth with gilt stamping.
First edition.

This collection includes Mark Twain's fictional story of an American sailor, Butterworth Stavely, who decides to stay on Pitcairn after his ship passes on. He leads the islanders into a revolution against its tyrannical (albeit far-removed) English rulers. Before Stavely's arrival, the descendants of the mutineers had never felt oppressed. But under Stavely's tutelage, the Pitcairners are soon stomping the British flag in the mud. Predictably, Stavely proclaims that he is Pitcairn's rightful ruler and subjects the islanders to a worse suppression than that of the English.

By the story's end the Pitcairners decide that the titles of nobility and rank in Stavely's new navy are not worth the pain of not having food—too many chiefs and not enough Indians. They raise the colors of Britain again and dethrone Stavely. For punishment, and in characteristic Twain humor, they banished him from religious services—the ultimate punishment for the Pitcairners but hardly punishment for an ambitious, egotistical sailor.

Twain spent several months in Hawaii in 1866 as a travel correspondent for the *Sacramento Union*. This adventure may have exposed him to the true story of an Englishman named Joshua Hill, who came to Pitcairn in 1833, appointed himself schoolmaster, and soon ruled over the simple islanders (see item #20). The British Admiralty became aware of the problem and sent a message asking for Hill to leave on his own accord. When the envoys arrived, they were pleased to find that the Pitcairners had resolved the problem themselves by ousting Hill. It is quite likely that Twain based his short story on this incident.

40. BECKE, Louis, 1855–1913; and Walter James JEFFERY, 1861–1922.

The Mutineer, A Romance of Pitcairn Island. By Louis Becke and Walter Jeffery.

Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, MDCCCXCVIII [1898].
Original cloth with gilt stamping.
viii, 298 p. 22 cm.
First American edition.

George Lewis Becke, under the pseudonym of *Louis Becke*, is generally acclaimed the best writer of South Sea stories to have lived for many years in the region. After spending 20 years as a trader, beachcomber, and wanderer, *from Rapa to Palau*, Becke at the age of 38 began to write stories for the *Sydney Bulletin*. In 1896 he went to London to embark on a literary career. Before his death in his native Australia, to which he returned in 1908, he published 35 books about the Pacific, six in collaboration with Walter Jeffery. *The Mutineer* focuses on the character of Fletcher Christian. The first edition was also published in 1898, by Unwin in London.

41. LONDON, Jack, 1876–1916.

"The Seed of McCoy," in *South Sea Tales.* By Jack London, Author of "Adventure," "Burning Daylight," "The Call of the Wild," Etc., pp. 259–327.

New York: Macmillan Company, 1911.
327 p., col. front. 20 cm.
Original cloth.
First edition.

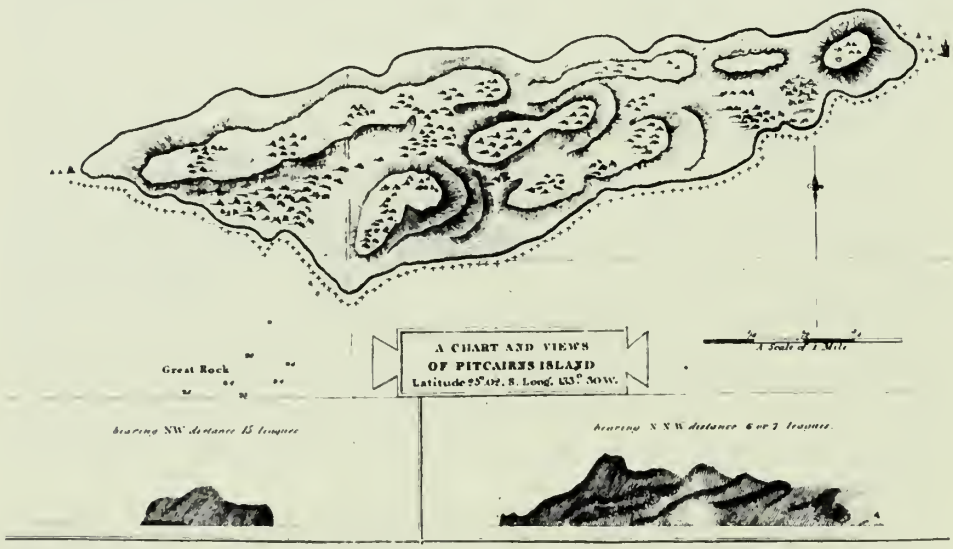
This fictional account of a descendant of a *Bounty* mutineer depicts the calmness and sincerity of the Pitcairners. The story is of a ship which is on fire internally. It comes to Pitcairn in order to save its valuable metal hull. Much to the crew's dismay, they are informed by McCoy, the island's magistrate governor, that Pitcairn has no beach and that they must journey to another island to land. The captain scoffs, but McCoy reassures him by agreeing to accompany them to safety. The captain caulks the deck in hopes of containing the smoldering fire.

The voyage resumes after obtaining supplies for the ship on Pitcairn. The ship misses several islands and her condition worsens. Tensions build and the crew decides to board the launch and abandon ship against the

orders of the captain. McCoy's calm voice of assurance stops them. Finally, the boat lands on another island and is saved, thanks to the heroics of McCoy and the captain.

After an adventurous youth as an oyster pirate in San Francisco Bay, a sailor on a sealing ship, a hobo, a student for one semester at the University of California, and a prospector in the Alaskan gold rush, Jack London taught himself to write and eventually became one of the best-known, highest-paid, and most popular writers in the world.

The idea of cruising around the world on a sailing boat designed by himself came to London in 1905. He hoped that the voyage could be financed by writing magazine articles along the way. Everything went wrong that could go wrong, as related in his *The Cruise of the 'Snark'* (New York: Harper, 1908). After making a dangerous traverse to Honolulu in 1907, Jack and Charmian, his wife and "mate," sailed the *Snark* for two years in the South Pacific. They visited the Marquesas and Society Islands, Samoa, Fiji, the Solomons, and the New Hebrides. The cruise ended when London became seriously ill from overexposure to the tropical sun. London's firsthand knowledge of the Pacific is much in evidence in "The Seed of McCoy." He is particularly adept at capturing the essence of navigation under sail and the dangers of negotiating the Pacific's treacherous reefs and atolls.



From Delano's *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels* (Item 16).

42. NORDHOFF, Charles Bernard, 1887–1947; and James Norman HALL, 1887–1951.

Mutiny on the Bounty. By Charles Nordhoff & James Norman Hall. With a preface by the authors and an appendix containing the true story of Peter Heywood. Illustrated by Fletcher Martin. New York: The Limited Editions Club, 1947.

2 p., v–x, 465 p., illus., col. plates. 24 cm.

"Excerpt from the biography of Peter Heywood, one of the survivors of the mutiny on the Bounty; it was written by John Marshall, Lieutentant in the Royal Navy, and was based upon the private journal of James Morrison," pp. 430–65.

Bibliography included in Preface.

Designed by George Macy.

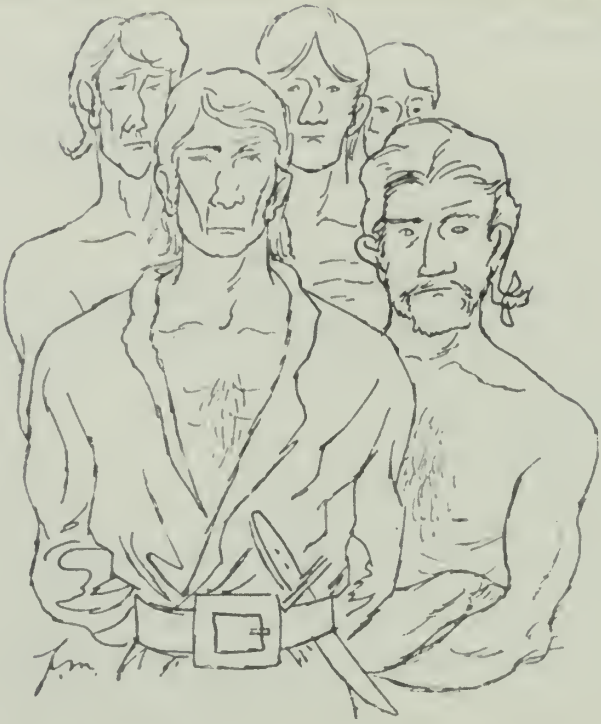
Printed by Garamond Press, Baltimore.

Signed by illustrator Fletcher Martin. Cased.

Edition limited to 1,500 copies; BYU's copy is number 253.

Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall, one of the most famous writing teams of this century, first met in the French Foreign Legion's Lafayette Flying Corps after the First World War. They were assigned to collaborate on a history of the Flying Corps. Although they were two very different individuals, they resolved their differences and found common ground in an aspiration to escape civilization and sail in the South Pacific. They spent the first year, 1920, roaming separately through the islands and then settled down near each other in Tahiti, both marrying Tahitian women, who gave them families. Making the South Seas their special literary provenance, they wrote some of the best books on this region.

The most enduring collaboration by Nordhoff and Hall is *The Bounty Trilogy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1932, 1934, 1934). Strangely, this work was written because of lack of information. Hall told Nordhoff that he was unaware of any fictional account of the most famous mutiny in naval history. Nordhoff was skeptical, but after *the most painstaking researches*, the authors found only a children's book entitled *Aleck, the Last of the Mutineers* (Boston: B. Perkins, 1854), which centered on Pitcairner John Adams, alias Alexander Smith. Nordhoff therefore agreed to write a fictional account of the mutiny. Had they known that there had actually been at least four novels written about the *Bounty*, they probably would have turned their literary efforts elsewhere.



MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY

BY CHARLES NORDHOFF & JAMES NORMAN HALL

WITH A PREFACE BY THE AUTHORS AND AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE TRUE STORY OF PETER HEYWOOD

ILLUSTRATED BY FLETCHER MARTIN

NEW YORK, THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB, 1947

Title page from Nordhoff and Hall's *Mutiny on the Bounty* (Item 42).

THE

BOUNTY TRILOGY

Comprising the Three Volumes

MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY
MEN AGAINST THE SEA
& PITCAIRN'S ISLAND

BY CHARLES NORDHOFF
& JAMES NORMAN HALL

ILLUSTRATIONS BY N. C. WYETH

BOSTON

Little, Brown and Company · 1951

Title page from Nordhoff and Hall's *The Bounty Trilogy* (Item 43).

The two writers began work on *Mutiny on the Bounty* in 1929. Though fictional, Nordhoff and Hall's account is highly accurate. Researchers in England were recruited to comb the archives of the British Museum for material dealing not only with the mutiny but with sea life of the period. The mutiny narrative is viewed through the eyes of Roger Byam, 73 years old, who is the fictional real-life counterpart of Peter Heywood (see item #24). The first part of the mutiny story begins in England and ends with the court-martial and condemnation to death of Byam in 1792.

The second part of the trilogy is a shorter novel entitled *Men Against the Sea*. It is the narrative of Bligh's amazing open-boat 3,600-mile voyage to Timor as seen through the eyes of Thomas Ledward, acting surgeon of the *Bounty*. The concluding volume is *Pitcairn's Island*, which opens with the arrival of the battered *Bounty* at her final resting place. The narrative is told by Alexander Smith, sole survivor of the mutinous crew. Because the facts regarding the early history of the island's population and events are speculative at best, Nordhoff and Hall's conjectures are as good as any, but undoubtedly fictional.

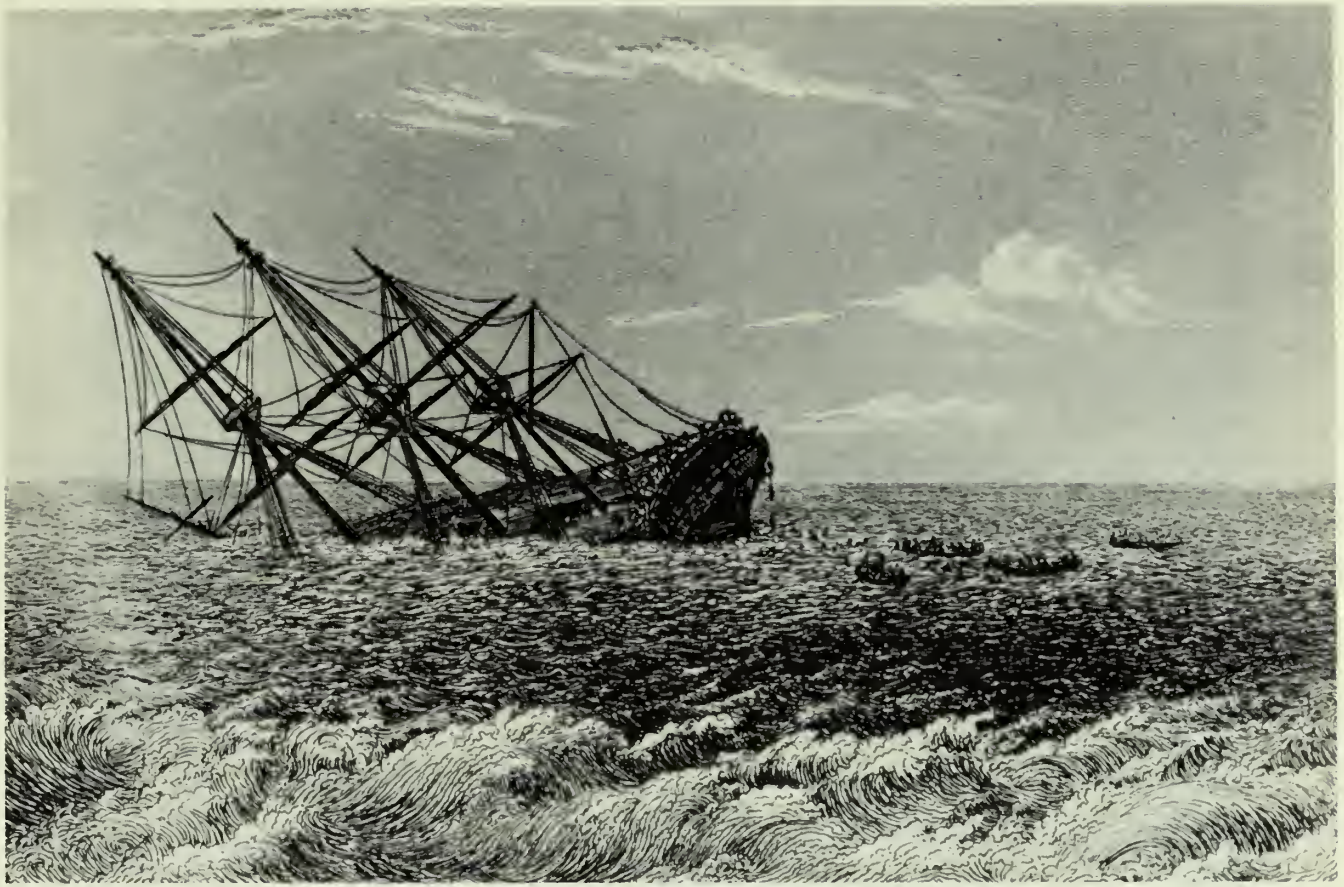
The Bounty Trilogy was the first major series written by the Nordhoff and Hall team. In all they produced 36 books, of which the last two were written almost exclusively by Hall after Nordhoff lost the desire to write. Only one of their works does not deal with the South Seas. Of special interest to those who enjoy Nordhoff and Hall novels is a biography by Paul L. Briand, Jr., called *In Search of Paradise: The Nordhoff–Hall Story* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1966), which reveals that the lives of the two men were almost as fascinating as their fiction.

43. NORDHOFF, Charles Bernard, 1887–1947; and James Norman HALL, 1887–1951.

The Bounty Trilogy, Comprising the Three Volumes, Mutiny on the Bounty, Men Against the Sea, & Pitcairn's Island. Illustrations by N. C. Wyeth. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951.

viii, 4 l., [5]–691 p. col. front., plates. 21 cm.
Map on lining-papers. In dust jacket.
Wyeth edition.

Reissue of Nordhoff and Hall's popular trilogy, with eight color plates by N. C. Wyeth (1882–1945). The patriarch of a family of well-known American artists, N. C. Wyeth was a noted illustrator of more than 20 children's classics.



Etching of a sketch of the *Pandora* sinking by Peter Heywood.
From Barrow's *The Eventful History of the Mutiny* (Item 14).

View of Bounty Bay, Pitcairn Island. The extreme difficulty of landing a boat safely at Pitcairn made it an ideal refuge for the mutineers. The *Bounty* was burned, and finally sank, in the little bay. From Shipley's *Sketches in the Pacific* (Item 21).

Illustrations from Motion Pictures

1. Enlarged black-and-white glossy still photographs from the 1935 MGM motion picture, *Mutiny on the Bounty*. This version, winner of the year's Best Picture Oscar, starred Charles Laughton as William Bligh and Clark Gable as Fletcher Christian. According to *The Motion Picture Guide* (Chicago: Cinebooks, 1986), *Few adventure epics have ever approached MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY for excitement, drama, thrills and the classic confrontation of good against evil. Truly a great film in every regard, this picture made box office history and Gable's name became synonymous with everything manly and noble. It also established Laughton as an insidious film menace, a heap of disgusting humanity who had no regard for life or liberty* (p. 2065). In addition to superb acting, the film is enhanced by director Frank Lloyd's insistence on authentic locale shooting in Tahiti and lifesize reproductions of the *Bounty* and *Pandora*.

2. Color lobby cards from the 1962 MGM motion picture remake of *Mutiny on the Bounty*. In this version, Trevor Howard plays Bligh and Marlon Brando is Fletcher Christian. Although the film was nominated for seven Oscars, it falls short of Frank Lloyd's 1935 classic. Brando later complained that *it was the worst experience of my acting career*. In the same vein, director Lewis Milestone said, *This picture should have been called "The Mutiny of Marlon Brando,"* and Richard Harris, cast as one of the mutineers, added, *The whole picture was just a large, dreadful nightmare to me* (*The Motion Picture Guide*, p. 2066).

3. Color poster of *The Bounty* (Universal, 1984). This critically acclaimed version starred Anthony Hopkins as Bligh and Mel Gibson as Christian. According to *Variety* magazine (April 23, 1984), *"The Bounty" is an intelligent first-rate, revisionist telling of the famous tale.... Well-done in all departments, the film is particularly distinguished by a sensational, and startlingly human, performance by Anthony Hopkins as Bligh, heretofore one of history's most one-dimensional villains*. The film was produced by Bernard Williams and directed by Roger Donaldson, with the screenplay by Robert Bolt.

Still photographs from the 1935 MGM motion picture *Mutiny on the Bounty.* Winner of the year's Best Picture Oscar, this film was directed by Frank Lloyd and starred Charles Laughton as Bligh and Clark Gable as Christian.

Pacific Maps

1. *Carte Réduite du Grand Océan, Partie Péridonale*, by J. B. Poirson. Paris, 1802. 46 x 59 cm. Contemporary hand coloring.

   This map shows the entire Pacific in small scale from the American coasts to Australia and New Guinea. Pitcairn Island, discovered and named by Carteret in 1767, appears near the center.

2. *Map of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean,* by J. Thomson. London, 1817. 54 x 72 cm. Original wash coloring.

   A detailed view of the Pacific islands in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Shows the area from Hawaii to Australia, with insets of islands in Hawaii and Tahiti. Bligh's Lagoon island is shown east of the Society Islands.

3. *New Zealand and Oceanic Islands... Southern Pacific Ocean... South America*, by Richard H. Laurie. London, 1849. 98 x 182 cm.

   These three blueback whaling charts, published by the Hydrographic Office of the British Admiralty by Richard Laurie, show the length of the Pacific, from New Zealand to South America, with insets of the Falklands and ports in South America. Pitcairn Island is also shown. The maps were assembled and mounted on blue paper for a New Bedford whaler and have the original ship-chandler's ticket on the verso. Pencil notes depict the routes of two whalers, the *Pearsall* and the *California.*

4. *Oceana or Pacific Ocean* by Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co. Philadelphia, ca. 1855. 35 x 44 cm. Original wash coloring.

   A general map of the islands of the Pacific from a prominent American atlas publisher. A note identifies Pitcairn island as "Inhabited by the descendants of the Mutineers of the Bounty."

5. *Nouvelle Carte Illustrée de l'Océanie*, by A. Vuillemin. Paris, ca. 1859. 61 x 89 cm. Original outline coloring.

   A decorative map of the Pacific Ocean. The delineation is flanked by two columns of engravings that depict tribal life in various islands. A note beside Pitcairn Island indicates it was discovered by Carteret in 1767. Many of the island groups have explanatory notes about their history, products, and trade.

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